Women, Work and Household Dynamics in Urban Kalimantan

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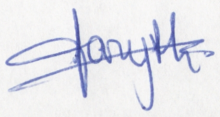
Declaration

Except where indicated, this thesis is my own work undertaken as a scholar from 1993 to 1997 in the Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University



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ABSTRACT

The thesis is inspired by Wolf's critique of the concept of household strategy. She claims that in its simple form, this strategy cannot capture the complex interrelationships between household members by examining individual behaviour, whether or not a woman works, in the context of household. The correlates of women's work activity and of women's employment status are examined, motives for work and their relationships with individual and household conditions are explored leading to a conclusion that women's work activity and their motives for work cannot be separated from individual and household conditions and the state of the labour market; the extent to which motives for work contribute to household survival is dependent on relationships between household members.

Whether or not a woman works and whether or not a woman is in a particular employment status is more likely to be influenced by the availability of job opportunities than individual and household factors. Women who have qualifications for work and want to work are not always able to work because of the unavailability of desired jobs rather than because of their marriage and childrearing roles. The importance of the availability of job opportunities can be indicated by the fact that it is more likely for married than single women to be government employees. Government employment remains an ideal job in urban Kalimantan but the ability of the government to create jobs is limited and the private sector has not been able to compensate for the reduced role of the government. This leads to problems especially among the younger generation which is more educated and more numerous than the older generation.

Individual motives for work are common among women in urban Kalimantan regardless of marital status. These motives for work are influenced by individual and household conditions. For instance, women having high education and a high skilled job tend to have various individual motives for work such as extending their perspective. Through education, the parents indirectly foster individual motives for work among their daughters. The strong belief that men are the primary-breadwinners associated with the capacity of men to be primary-breadwinners encourages women to work mainly for individual motives. This reflects the fact that individual motives for work are not independent from the household and are part of the household survival strategy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A comparative study of the process of decision making in the household with regard to young women and factory employment in Nuwun, a village in Central Java, and in Taiwan, leads Wolf (1990:43) to a conclusion about the concept of household strategy :

> While Javanese daughters may seek factory employment against parents' wishes, Taiwanese daughters may be obliged to submit to parental decision and work for years in order to contribute income. The concept of 'household strategies', however, inadequately describes both situations, masking relations of power, resistance and inequality within the household. The assumptions underlying the concept of household strategies and their broader analytical implications are explored, leading to the conclusion that a more differentiated view of the household is needed, taking power relations and struggles between gender and generations into account.

Inspired by Wolf's critique of the concept of household strategy, this study attempts to examine individual behaviour in the context of the household and to explore household strategy in a way that captures the complex interrelationships between household members. The individual behaviour analysed is whether or not a woman works. Two research questions are proposed. The first question is who are working women, and who are working women in a particular employment status ? The second question is what are the motives for work, and their relationship with individual and household conditions ? These questions are answered by analysing data from quantitative and qualitative surveys.

A. The importance of the study of individual behaviour in the context of household

1. Limitations of the concept of household strategy

The term 'household survival strategy', which is often shortened to 'household' or 'family strategy' refers to the analysis of individual behaviour in the context of the household (Schmink, 1984:89). Tilly (1979: 138) contended that 'household strategy' conceptualises and examines the links between individual lives and collective behaviour. Schmink (1984:87) extended the concept of household strategy by including the influence of macro socio-economic conditions on individual behaviour mediated through the household. Household strategy is a reflection of household decisions which are influenced by the opportunities perceived by the individual and the constraints imposed by the larger labour market (Schmink, 1984:87).

The concept of family survival strategies was introduced by Duque and Pastrana (1973 cited in Schmink, 1984) when they analysed the pattern of economic behaviour among poor families in Santiago (Schmink, 1984:88). Later studies on household strategy analysed various individual behaviours such as labour allocation (Tilly, 1979; Hart, 1986; Guest, 1989), marriage (Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982), co-residence and fertility (Tilly, 1979), education (Stern, 1987) and food allocation (Rosenzweig and Schultz, 1982). The concept of household strategy has been based mainly on the assumptions of the new home economics theory (Wolf, 1990:46). This theory assumes that the household has a joint utility function in which all household members will use their resources efficiently to maximise household utility. Because of 'altruism', all household members will gain when individual members use their specific skills (Becker, 1981).

The main limitation of the concept of household strategy is that researchers tend to assume that individual behaviour which is the subject of analysis is a direct reflection of household strategy because that individual is the one who implements household strategy. This assumption abstracts the individual behaviour from the

behaviour of other household members, although the behaviour of all household members is interrelated. For example, parents who were defensive, responding and adapting to the daughter's decision to work in the factory, enabled daughters to continue working, even though the decision was against the parents' wishes (Wolf, 1990:51). In Taiwan, parents' decisions about the fulfilment of household needs, such as by telling daughters to work in the factory, contributed to household survival because daughters dutifully obeyed the decisions of parents (Wolf, 1990:60).

The concept of household strategy simplifies the complex interrelationships between household members. This complexity is reflected in the questions posed by Folbre (1986:18):

> Who defines the collective utility that household members collectively seek to maximise ? How, for instance, are disagreements between husbands and wives resolved ? At what point do children become participants in household decisions rather than objects of those decisions ?

Harmony, conflict and tension towards the collective goals of household are likely to occur between generations and between the sexes (Schmink, 1984:95). However, studies of household strategy tend to neglect the internal process of decision making (Schmink, 1984:95). Household decisions are assumed to be taken by an individual representing household needs (Pyle, 1990:149).

Consequently, the concept of household strategy is not able to capture the changing behaviour of other household members towards the behaviour of individual household members, although these changing behaviours are part of a household strategy and are important for household survival. The study by Wolf (1990:43, 51) showed that parents' attitudes towards daughters who opposed their wishes changed from disagreement to agreement. Without tolerance from parents, the behaviour of daughters which was against parents' wishes might have endangered household survival. The daughters contribute to household survival because they enjoy personal freedom which is part of the non- economic functions of the family. However, the ones who implement household strategy are the parents, not the daughters.

The concept of household strategy tends to neglect the views of the persons involved or the reasons behind them (Wolf, 1990:65). Wolf (1990:66-67) proposed three factors which lead to respondents' explanations being neglected by researchers. First, researchers often assume that household strategies tend to operate at the subconscious level, which leads to difficulties in empirical analysis. Second, even though respondents are assumed to be able to explain their decisions, they may have difficulty in doing so. Third, even if respondents can explain their decisions, researchers may feel that respondents do not fully understand what they are doing.

In regard to whether or not a woman works, studies of household strategy which use the assumptions of home economics theory tend to trap researchers into the materialistic functions of households. 'To say that the household has a strategy is a loose way of saying that it has an economic dynamic' (Stichter, 1990:33). Working enables women to earn money, but working does not mean only money. Previous studies of household strategy neglect the non-material functions of the household such as love and tolerance which are foundations for the relationships between household members and for household survival. The non-material functions of the household may even influence the way material needs are fulfilled. This is indicated in Wolf's study about Taiwanese daughters who obey their parents' order to work in the factory for household needs.

At the conclusion of her book Wolf (1992:264) proposed the following research approach :

> This study has demonstrated that life inside rural households, although it revolves around work and the concern for survival, is more lively and complex than it is portrayed in many economically oriented studies of household work and income practices. Although poor rural household members work extraordinarily hard to survive, household interrelationships are not based solely on economics. This case encourages an approach to household studies that includes economics but expands to a more relational and interactive view.

This study attempts to follow Wolf's approach by exploring individual behaviour in the context of the household by using the concept of an idealised family morality because it will better capture the interrelationships between household members than concepts based on new home economics theory.

2. An idealised family morality

The concept of idealised family morality was introduced by McDonald (1994:23) as a framework for analysing changing family systems especially in developing countries, where change in family systems cannot be predicted on the basis only of changing education, occupation and economic well-being. McDonald argued that an idealised family morality is a basic component of the culture of all societies but that societies have various degrees of permitted deviation from the ideal. In societies in which the ideal is rigidly enforced as in many developing countries, change in family systems will occur only through changing the control of formal institutions, that is through the redefining of morality by formal institutions. In societies in which the ideal is flexible as in Western countries, change in the family system often occurs through social experimentation influenced by the opinions of experts. A weak idealised family morality enables family systems to have greater variation (McDonald, 1994:25).

This study develops the concept of an idealised family morality by treating family as an internal group rather than a part of social structure as proposed by McDonald. A household has to be functioning in order to survive and household strategy is the way household members carry out the household functions. The basic functions of household, regardless of socio-cultural background, include procreation, child socialisation, the preservation of lineage, and physical, emotional and economic security (Cho and Yada, 1994:3). The functions indicate that household members have economic as well as non-economic needs, collective as well as individual needs which have to be fulfilled for household survival.

The family defines its own idealised morality which is the result of the interaction of basic household functions and a moral requirement for household survival. The family is a personal institution while the state is an impersonal institution which may lead to different needs and survival strategies between them. Thus, an idealised morality of the family is not always the same as that of the state. For instance, the society may view variations from the ideal as illegal, antisocial, or contrary to the teachings of the prevailing religion (McDonald, 1994:22). In such situations, family

members need emotional protection which can only be provided by the family which is part of the family functions and crucial for family survival (Davidson and Moore, 1992:18). The family may change deviant morality to an idealised morality through personal approaches and the family may also believe in a morality which conflicts with the ideals held by the state or the society.

3. Working, personal autonomy and the family

Inspired by Engels's (1975:137-138) argument about entry into public labour as the first condition for liberation, some feminists continuously promote the importance of working for liberation, self-esteem, self-achievement or independence. Working means money, which provides economic power which is crucial for women's liberation, including a sense of personal worth and value; a sense of purpose and achievement, a capacity to contribute to the wider society; experience with and control over social arrangements outside the household; and independence from the control of others or personal autonomy (Stewart, 1990:262).

The view of the importance of working for women led the US women's movement in the early 1970s increasingly to demand the right to equal employment because it was regarded as basic to equal status in a society that measures achievement by income or profession (Tinker, 1997:33). However, using women's work activity as an indicator of social status is still a controversial issue (Stichter and Parpart, 1990:1). The meaning of status has more than one dimension (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982:117). Safilios-Rothschild distinguished between women's status and power. Status refers to the social position of women while power refers to the ability of women to influence and control at the individual level. Status and power may not be consistent. Women may have high social status but little power in the family and vice versa (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982:129).

The view of the importance of working for personal autonomy and liberation encourages researchers to impose their own values in interpreting why women do not work without considering an idealised family morality. While Western women claimed that purdah or seclusion is a reflection of extreme deprivation of women, many of women in purdah regard themselves as gaining privilege. A study among

Hausa Moslem women in Nigeria found that most women preferred to stay in seclusion instead of working outside because it reduced their work burden and increased their prestige (Tinker, 1976:31).

An idealised family morality in Indonesia may have encouraged a majority of women in the study of Raharjo and Hull (1984:20) to state that husband, children and home are the most important achievements in their life because it may be appropriate to mention such a reason rather than personal achievement in their jobs. Sitepu (1996: 263) in a study about housewives in Indonesia asked Ina, her respondent, who had a master's degree in law, had worked as a lecturer, but had stopped working after marriage, if she felt guilty about obtaining a subsidy from the state when she studied at the state university. Ina answered:

> It depends on your point of view.....if only I have to return the subsidy to the people, I am sure that I will have children who will not be a burden for our country, my children even will be good investment for the country! This is my contribution to the state as the repayment of subsidy which I received when I studied at the state university (Sitepu, 1996:264).

Sitepu's leading questions may indicate her assumption about the high opportunity cost of not working among women with high education such as Ina; she might not have expected Ina's response regarding the importance of her qualifications for childrearing.

The importance of childrearing encouraged Joan Offerman-Zuckerberg, a psychologist, to withdraw from her prestigious career as Supervisor-Faculty for the Brooklyn Institute for Psychotherapy, New York, and Supervisor for the National Institute for Psychotherapy, Yeshiva University. She expressed her feeling in the introduction of her book entitled *Critical Psychophysical Passages in the Life of a Woman: a Psychodynamic Perspective* :

> After the birth of my second son some 11 years ago, I was painfully torn by the timing of my re-entry to work-my wish to return to a prestigious and stimulating position as chief psychologist of a large agency, or my equally powerful wish to enjoy fully my beautiful new son's infancy, undivided and untorn. At the time I had a dream that my body was cut in half at the waist-my head leaned to the books neatly contained on the library shelves; my belly went to the crib, all sweet-smelling and soft. Not having had the opportunity to be 'undivided' with my first son (now 17 years old), I chose to resign my agency position and stay home as long as I wished and then develop my private practice. It was a decision that at the time entailed much loss -cerebral, collegial, social, prestigious-and generated some self doubt, but in retrospect it is not regretted and was perhaps wise. This son's infancy will always be remembered as a time in which I experienced mothering with ease and grace. Ten years later, I dreamed again, this time of 'breaking new waters'. Having had a number of years to resolve a good part of the ambivalence regarding a possible third child (actually a wish for a daughter), I do not believe the dream signalled birth in the literal sense. Instead, what it means to me is the birth of a creative self -breaking new ground- perhaps the shaping and editing of a book. Thank you to my husband Richard and sons Joshua and Benyamin, who as always 'are' the very stuff of my dreams -the flesh-and-blood embodiments of my deepest wishes (Offerman-Zuckerberg, 1988).

The case of Joan indicates that she did not regret her decision to become a full-time mother, and even thought that it was a wise decision. She also had personal achievement in her life by having the memorable time when she experienced mothering with ease and grace during her son's infancy. Being a housewife and a mother did not stop her from being creative as indicated by her thinking of the shaping and editing of a book, which could also be a job and a career.

Not working has various meanings for women. Not working may be seen as a luxury. Ina, the former lecturer mentioned earlier, said that 'being at home is a luxury and has to be praised' (Sitepu, 1996:263). Women from poor families may stay at home and do housework in order to provide opportunities to as many household members as possible to work, as found in England and France (Tilly and Scott, 1987:231). On the other hand, women may view housework as boring and monotonous, which encourages them to seek jobs outside the home (Hall, 1994:79). These women may not work because no desired job is available. There are also women who are not working because their husbands do not allow them to work (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:21). The complex meaning of not working should not lead researchers to a simplistic view that women who are not working do not have personal autonomy and achievement. The social functions of housework may

provide the opportunity to apply individual talents, and give personal satisfaction to housewives (Sharma, 1986:5).

Some feminists encourage women to obtain personal autonomy through working as if women are not part of the family. Carden (1984:16) argued that three factors are not taken into account by feminists in regard to the role of women in the family: first, the complex relationship between the family, social structure, and women's status; second, the practical problems of establishing egalitarian relationships in the home, even if wives achieve equality in the world of work; and third, the high value placed on motherhood by society and by individual women whether feminists or not. Feminist theorists have been modifying their viewpoints since the 1980s. There is a new concern that the emphasis on greater autonomy for women needs to be counter-balanced by a re-emphasis on women's maternal and nurturing roles (Thorne, 1992:23-25).

B. Woman, the family, and the state in Indonesia

Indonesia is a country where the state dominates the construction of an idealised family morality through policies directly and indirectly related to the family. In countries where the state has a dominant role as an agent of change, change in the family systems will occur only through the redefining of morality by formal institutions. This depends on the views of the persons who control the institutions and is the result of a complex combination of forces, commitment of organisations outside the state, general social development, the agency of the state, and the strength of the forces supporting the old morality (McDonald, 1994:23, 25).

The state defines the desired type of family mentioned in the family law, *Undang Undang* or *UU* No. 10/1992 about the prosperous family. The prosperous family is a family which is formed on the basis of a legal marriage, able to fulfil spiritual and material needs, pious to God; it has harmonious relationships among family members, between family members and society, and between family members and the environment (Republic of Indonesia, 1994). The state defines the ideal number of children through the family planning policy and the ideal role of women, and

regulates the married life of civil servants through the *Peraturan Pemerintah* or *PP* No. 10/1983.

The role of non-state institutions or persons in sustaining an idealised family morality is dependent on the needs of the state. If the state views the role of institutions and persons as important to achieve the objective, the state does not hesitate to engage their support, otherwise their role tends to be neglected. For instance, the role of Muslim leaders, *ulama,* in the family planning policy is regarded as crucial by the state because limiting births formally was a new idea among Muslims in Indonesia. Therefore, the support of *ulama* for the family planning policy would help the government to achieve the objective. The state intensively sought the support of *ulama.* Finally, the concept of the small family was individually accepted by most *ulama* after 1985 (Adioetomo, 1993:130).

In contrast, the influence of *ulama* on the passing of the *PP* No. 10/1983 which restricts polygamy and arbitrary divorce tends to be neglected. The *PP* No. 10/1983 is forcibly implemented and takes precedence over religious and customary laws and, in some respects, even the state marriage law (Suryakusuma, 1996:107). The background of the *PP* No. 10/1983 indicates the importance of persons who control the state and their inner circle. The PP No. 10/1983 was initiated by *Dharma Wanita,* the organisation of the wives of public servants, although only a small group of wives of high-ranking officials pressed for the regulation, because in Javanese culture, sexual excess is the symbol of success among bureaucrats and technocrats and the 'possession' of women is considered a natural attribute of power (Suryakusuma 1996:103). In the construction of the role of women, the state accommodates the views of international and national experts as long as they do not contradict the state's view.

1. Family planning policy

The impetus to the establishment of a national family planning program in Indonesia was the signing of the Declaration of World Leaders on Population in 1967 by President Soeharto, together with 28 other world leaders. The president saw that the increase in the rate of population growth would be an obstacle to

economic development, therefore birth control, which is compatible with the ethics of religion and of *Pancasila*[1], had to be practised to control population growth (Adioetomo, 1993:116-118).

The institutionalisation of the small-family norm succeeded. The average number of live births per woman declined from 5.6 in 1967-1970 to 2.9 in 1984/1985 (Sukamdi, 1992:23). Adioetomo (1993) in her study of the construction of a small-family norm in Java concluded:

> ....the small family norm in Java was constructed and introduced to the people rather than emerging because of the modernisation process. The ideal family size in Java has changed from a socially determined large-family size to a socially determined small-family size of two or three children. The growing tendency for younger women to use contraception for spacing and stopping at two or three children suggests that individual small family size determination is under way.

The government could claim success in the construction of small-family size norms. Desired family size has declined from a large family to two or three children. However, the construction of an idealised family morality through controlling civil servants' marriages has not been as easy as the construction of small family size.

2. Polygamy and the *PP* No. 10/1983

According to the 1974 marriage law, polygamy is allowed for Muslims. In theory, the law, which is based on a principle of monogamy, makes polygamy very difficult (Suryakusuma, 1996:103). Specific rules on polygamy and divorce for civil servants and sanctions for those who break the rules in the *PP* No. 10/1983 make polygamy problematic. The *PP* No. 10/1983 requires male civil servants who want to marry a second wife to obtain permission not only from the first wife but also from their superior officer. Acceptable reasons for taking another wife are that the first wife is unable to perform her marital duties, that she has an incurable illness or disability, or that she is unable to bear children. For those who break the rules, the sanctions include delayed promotion and salary increases and ultimately, dishonourable discharge from the service (Suryakusuma, 1996:106).

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[1] The five pillars or five principles on which the Republic Indonesia is based; belief in God, nationalism, humanism, democracy, and social justice.

The inability of the *PP* No. 10/1983 to eliminate polygamy for civil servants is mainly due to a simplistic view of polygamy. Polygamy is regarded as the business of the husband and the first wife, while the woman who becomes the second wife is regarded either as the passive victim of the married man or as the woman who disturbs the marriage of another woman. The rights of female civil servants who are currently unmarried are also restricted. According to the *PP* No. 10/1983, female civil servants may obtain permission to marry a private citizen with the consent of the first wife, but they are prohibited from becoming the second, third or fourth wife of a civil servant (Suryakusuma, 1996:106). The prohibition of marriage for unmarried women contradicts the right to marry guaranteed by the marriage law.

The *PP* No. 10/1983 does not consider the need to protect the rights of other women who become the additional wives of civil servants. Male civil servants who want to take the responsibility of marrying another woman who demands marriage without divorcing the first wife, face difficulties because of the sanctions. This creates problems for both the first wife and the other woman. The sanctions encourage 'sham' marriages and hidden promiscuity which only become 'immoral' when they are exposed (Murray, 1993:35). The *PP* No. 10/1983, meant to protect wives of civil servants, has in many ways created even greater problems for these women (Suryakusuma, 1996:109). Very few women are willing to oppose their husbands formally. The wives are usually reluctant to propose a divorce even if they know that their husbands have a second wife or a mistress or are cohabiting with another woman. Wives who have several children and are economically dependent on their husbands because of not working, especially will suffer if their husbands are demoted or dismissed from service because of their report to their husbands' superiors (Suryakusuma, 1996:109).

3. The construction of the ideal role of women

Article 27 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution guarantees equal rights before the law for every citizen, meaning that the government does not discriminate between citizens on the basis of sex, ethnicity or other characteristics. This article was

sufficient for the government under President Soekarno in relation to discrimination against women, although the government was silent about women's issues. Indonesian women were not isolated, subordinated and ignored; they gained more advantages than other groups, because the leaders were progressive, highly educated, thoughtful, and committed to change along many fronts (Lev, 1996:195).

> The pattern of early independence was not toward more subordination of women but less, not more isolation but (without much clamor) more involvement. During the 1950s and 1960s, women went to school in increasing numbers, entered the professions, were politically active in and out of the party system - though they had to fight for influence- enlisted in the bureaucracy at all levels, established their own organisations, campaigned for change, and publicly took sides on major social and political issues. Moreover, women were not entirely ignored by the government or treated unfavourably. The *Mahkamah Agung* (supreme court), for one example, began during the 1950's to establish the inheritance rights of widows and to extend Javanese bilateral rules of inheritance to other ethnic groups, including the patrilineal Batak. Some Batak men loudly protested, but others applauded, and so did Batak women (Lev, 1996:195).

The government under President Soeharto is not silent about women's issues. The government appointed an Associate Minister for the Role of Women in 1978, which was elevated to the Office of the Minister of State for the Role of Women in 1983 (Republic of Indonesia, 1996a:5). The central focus of the government on women's issues is on the advancement of women's status and role in development since it is regarded as a strategic political will of the state. The government believes that women's status in the family and society and their role in development need to be maintained and advanced, therefore, women as partners of men are able to maximise their contribution to nation building (Republic of Indonesia, 1996b:1).

The specific political will of the government on women's issues is stated in the 1988 State Guidelines as follows:

> Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara (GBHN) 1988 menetapkan bahwa dalam melaksanakan pembangunan, wanita merupakan *mitra sejajar* yang mempunyai hak kewajiban dan kesempatan yang sama dengan kaum pria, serta mempunyai peranan sangat penting dalam keluarga karena secara langsung akan mempengaruhi kualitas generasi muda dan kesejahteraan keluarga. Dalam rangka peningkatan peranan wanita tersebut maka *peran gandanya*, yaitu *peran sertanya dalam pembangunan* dan posisinya selaku ibu rumah tangga, dilaksanakan secara selaras dan serasi (Republic of Indonesia, 1989:253-254).

This is, in English:

> The 1988 state guidelines direct that, in the implementation of development, women and men are equal partners who have equal rights, and obligations and opportunity. The most important role for women is the familial role because it directly influences the young generation and family welfare. In order to advance the role of women, therefore, women's dual roles, in development and in the family are implemented harmoniously.

The program's priorities for enhancing the role of women set up by the State Minister through various activities are as follows:

> (1) the increased quality of women as human resources in development
> (2) the increased quality and protection of women workers
> (3) the increased quality of multifunctional roles of men and women in the family and community
> (4) the development of socio-cultural environment which is conducive to the advancement of women
> (5) the establishment of national institutions and women's organisations (Republic of Indonesia, 1996a:5).

The State Guidelines and the priority of the activities indicate that the government holds that the most important role for women is in the family but their public role is also developed. This influences the type of women's issues raised in the society. The government previously emphasised the domestic role as an ideal role of women and through *Panca Dharma Wanita* or Five Responsibilities of Women defines women as appendages and companions to their husbands, as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as housekeepers, and as members of Indonesian society (Suryakusuma, 1996:101). The government constructs an idealised image of modern Indonesian women, the woman who has *kodrat* or destiny as a mother, who upholds *priyayi* or middle-class Javanese values and domesticity (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987), and the Western-bourgeois nuclear family ideals of the consuming housewife, socialising mother and good citizen (Murray, 1993:35). To date, the construction of an ideal role of women has covered all roles of women, domestic as well as public.

a. The advancement of women's role in development

The contribution of experts in the construction of the ideal women's role is very important as reflected by terms such as *'peran wanita dalam pembangunan'* (the role of women in development), *'peran ganda'* (dual roles) and *'mitra sejajar'* (partnership). The terms related to the advancement of women's role are popular among the public because they are delivered frequently by experts in seminars, government officials and members of women's organisations created by the government through formal speeches about women, from Jakarta down to the village level although those who deliver and listen to the speeches do not necessarily fully understand the meaning of the terms.

The advancement of women's role in development implies that women's role in development is still small. A lesser role for women in development is often measured on the basis of the lower participation of women than men in economic activities, therefore women are encouraged to participate in the labour force. This idea is based on the 1970 encouragement of the United Nations to integrate women into development, which was theoretically legitimised by the publication of Ester Boserup's book (1970) entitled *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Tinker, 1997:34). Gender bias in the previous economic development which led to 'the feminisation of poverty' has motivated the integration of women into development through legal and administrative changes and increasing accessibility to job opportunities. The productive role of women remained a major concern throughout the decade for women (1976-1985) among advocates, practitioners as well as scholars (Tinker, 1997) and even up to now.

However, the comparison of data on female and male labour force participation neglects the complex phenomenon behind the figures. The methodological issue on comparing data by sex in Indonesia is discussed by Lev (1996:191).

> On one kind of evidence, at least, Indonesia would lean decidedly closer to equality than to subjugation, along with, say, Italy and France. Indonesian women have, after all, been economically and politically active for a long time, and if their presence in the government has been limited, as elsewhere, they have not been excluded. It is not irrelevant, though the significance should not be exaggerated either, that Sri Widojati Notoprojo was appointed to Indonesia's supreme court about fifteen years before Sandra Day O'Connor joined that in the United States. I do not mean to make an argument for complacency, nor to suggest that equality for women in Indonesia is right around the corner. Nor is it equally all that close anywhere else. Rather, Indonesian women committed to change have some advantages in what is nevertheless still an uphill struggle.

Increasing female labour force participation rate based on the large survey data often leads to a conclusion that there is an increase in job opportunities, conditions and pay for women (Chester and Grossman, 1990:5). In fact, this is not always a reflection of better conditions for women since these women may work because of poverty. For example, the official figures show that between 1992 and 1993 women constituted 90 per cent of total Indonesian migrant workers in the Middle Eastern countries and 96 per cent of them were domestic servants (Republic of Indonesia, 1996a:30, 71). These women are not sufficiently protected by the law. In an interview in *Ummat* magazine (28 July 1997), Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, the chair of the Association of Indonesian Women for Justice (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan*), a non-governmental organisation, complained that the government neglected the problems of low-skilled labour working overseas. The government encouraged low-skilled labour to go overseas but the government has not ratified the 1990 United Nations Convention on the protection of migrant labour. The ratification of the convention is needed because it enables the government to protect its labourers working overseas.

The conclusion about the condition of women, derived from the large-survey data on labour force, can create false optimism about experience of women workers which can be damaging for the poor, the single parents and minorities. This is especially problematic since the large-survey data are often used as the basis for policy decisions which use public money and energy (Chester and Grossman, 1990:5). Repetitive speeches about the role of women in development with women as the primary target rather than the government, may only cause boredom and apathy, especially among those who are powerless.

b. Different appreciation for different roles of women

The construction of an ideal role of women by the government encourages people to differentiate between ideal and non-ideal roles which leads to different appreciations based on roles where one is valued higher than the other. Generally, the role of women as mothers is still highly valued by the government, the society and women themselves. The government encourages women to participate in economic or social activity without neglecting their primary role as housewives (Republic of Indonesia, 1989:253-254).

When the government constructed the domestic role as the ideal role of women, appreciation for the role of a housewife was higher than for a working woman. Working women tend to be regarded as having lower social status than non-working women because, by working, they reflect the husbands' inability to fulfil the economic needs of the family. The social status of working women is raised by the expansion of women's ideal role into a productive role, accompanied by a combination of complex factors such as development, which emphasises material values, increasing education of women and job opportunities in the modern sector, and the encouragement of women to obtain personal autonomy through working.

The term 'career' women is becoming popular. It usually refers to women having at least senior high school education and working in medium- or high-skill occupations. Statistical data are lacking on the number of women lawyers, some of them among the most accomplished, successful, and prominent in the country, doctors, journalists, university academics, writers and managers, but the impression is that they are numerous (Lev, 1996:200). The mass media, especially women's magazines such as *Femina,* have an important influence on the ideal image and life style of career women by publishing the success stories of career women. Career women tend to give non-economic reasons for work, such as career, being independent, companionship, and a balanced life, which means they want to have a family as well as a career (Poewandari, 1995:329, 337). The magazines also offer advice to career women on fashion and make up.

The high social status of career women may encourage elite women who are not working to obtain a new identity which provides them with social status as high as that of career women. The domestic role and participation in traditional social networking are not sufficient any more because women, regardless of socio-economic status are involved with these activities. Javanese women traditionally are mediators within and between Javanese households, because they create, maintain, and recreate social networks which enable material exchange to occur, which is important for household survival (Cooley, 1992:229). Modern women who are not working may think that they have to have social activities in modern women's or social organisations which distinguish them from other non-working women; the participation which provides high social status. This is encouraged by the establishment of women's organisations such as PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Guidance) by the government for advancing the role of women in development stated in the 1993 State Guidelines (Katjasungkana, 1989 cited in Soetrisno, 1990:13).

The construction of an ideal role of women by the government is strengthening the social strata. Rather than encouraging the people to appreciate whatever is the role of women, the government constructs the ideal role which leads to different appreciation for different roles. This especially occurs among women who are concerned about social status: their self-esteem is dependent on their social status rather than their personal achievement in any role they have.

c. The different conditions and needs of women

The main limitation of the government policy on women's issues is the simplistic view that all women have the same conditions and needs although the facts show that they do not. Consequently, policy which is intended to protect the rights of women may create, for some women, problems which are not considered by the policy makers. The clearest example is *PP* No. 10/1983 which is intended to protect the rights of the first wife, but creates problems not only for the first wife but also for women who want to marry male civil servants who are already married. *Dharma Wanita* had a strong role in the initiation of *PP* No. 10/1983 (Suryakusuma,

1996:103) but it tends to be silent on basic issues such as the problems of women involved in sham marriages, and Indonesian women working overseas who are exploited and ill-treated by their employers, as is often reported by newspapers and popular magazines.

Solidarity does not always occur among women; this is indicated by the case of the members of *Dharma Wanita*. The basic problem is due to the self-image of the members, based on their husbands' social status and attitudes. Yanti, a former committee member of *Dharma Wanita* in West Java, said that 'wives automatically will bear responsibility if husbands have "improper" attitudes' (*Apabila suami melakukan tindakan tercela, maka secara otomatis istri mendapatkan getahnya segera*) (Buchori and Sunarto, 1996:190). If a husband has an affair with another woman, the wife will automatically bear the moral responsibility. Not surprisingly, *PP* 10/1983 often puts first wives in difficult situations because they are embarrassed to report private matters about their husbands to a superior. They remain isolated because of common mistrust from other members of *Dharma Wanita*. Rather than solidarity, there is atomisation among women. The 'official sisterhood' of *Dharma Wanita* is more official than sisterly and is therefore a farce (Suryakusuma, 1996:108).

Another case of *Dharma Wanita* is an example of the inability to provide for different conditions of women. The organisational structure of *Dharma Wanita* is based on the husband's position in the office. The organisation lacks appreciation of personal aptitude for leadership and fair competition, since the wife of the head of department will be automatically the chair of *Dharma Wanita* regardless of her ability. The different socio-economic classes of the members emerge in the activities of the organisation. The wives of low-ranking officials are not always able to attend the routine meetings of *Dharma Wanita* because of transport cost which has to be borne personally (Buchori and Sunarto, 1996:188). They are sometimes also reluctant to attend upper class-oriented activities such as foreign language courses, children's libraries, or financial assistance to musical groups or hobby and sport clubs, because they are worried about not having the proper clothes or behaving incorrectly, or they do not have the financial resources occasionally required by the group's activities (Cooley, 1992:240).

The policy concerning women tends to provide advantages to a certain group of women since it lacks the capacity to capture different conditions and needs of women. This position is similar in other countries, where the powerful and the better-off women are most likely to obtain benefits from the women's movement.

> The primary assets of the women's movement (again, as elsewhere), now belong largely to educated women from well-off families in urban Indonesia. Historically, restrictions on women increased with social status, while working in the fields and markets accumulated some clout, elite wives and daughters suffered more restraint, as Kartini complained, until appropriately high-status occupations became available to them in the professions and modern commerce (Lev, 1996:201).

d. The importance of the family

Although among the middle class the domestic role has not been sufficient to provide a high social status, family is still very important in women's lives. This is reflected by a poll carried out by *Femina* in 1985 and 1989 for the readers of this women's magazine, who generally have a middle class background and at least senior high school education. In 1985, 75 per cent of the readers said that being a wife makes their life more attractive and safe, as long as husbands and wives have the same principles in family life and are dependent on each other. In 1989, most of the readers who had been married (78 per cent) said that the objective of marriage is to share happiness and sadness (Gunawan, 1992:7).

Two types of relationship between husband and wife are described here. In the first type, women provide privileges to husbands; therefore, the husbands do not lose their self-esteem (Poewandari, 1995:336). This is illustrated by the attitudes of one woman, a public figure, who is the dean of a faculty in the largest state university in Indonesia, and who had just been made as a professor. The article asked: 'will she make coffee for her husband?' (*Akankah ia tetap membuat kopi untuk suaminya?).* The woman said that she was not only willing to make coffee for her husband, but even willing to put his shoes on for him (*Republika* cited in Suryakusuma, 1993).

In the second type, women want a relationship with their husbands based on partnership, companionship and understanding (Poewandari, 1995:336). This is reflected by the story of Dyah who was one of the respondents in Poewandari's (1995:335) study:

> ..Frankly speaking I did not have an equal partner...I ever had..I ever had..and I tried to establish a close relationship, but the problem is.....it also might not be a problem. As a man, his ego is high. I could talk about many things, but in our relationship, I should be humble to him. Finally I thought that I did not need a smart guy, the most important thing is that I do not want to be ignored.

Regardless of the type of relationship between husband and wife, married life is mainly based on partnership. In 1989, 94 per cent of the readers of *Femina* who were married said that their married life was based on partnership in which decision making was carried out together instead of by husband or wife alone. Around 78 per cent of married women said that family affairs are the responsibility of both husbands and wives. Single women (97 per cent) desired a marriage based on partnership. (Gunawan, 1992:13).

Partnership is also practised in domestic duties. However, this is least likely to be recognised because it does not change the formal division of responsibility in the family. The readers of *Femina,* both single and married and working and not-working tended to say that domestic duties are women's primary responsibility (Gunawan, 1992:5). Domestic duties including childcare are mainly done by servants among the middle-class families. The readers of *Femina* said that if there is no servant, housework, especially arranging and cleaning the house and childcare would become the responsibility of both husbands and wives (Gunawan, 1992:5).

Partnership is not a new issue in the Indonesian family. A study of women who were working in the informal sector in Jakarta found that some women said that they were able to work and to contribute to the family income because their husbands helped them in shopping and picking children up from school (Ihromi 1995:455). Another study of female vegetable traders in Jakarta found a similar pattern; non-economic activities such as socialisation of children, cooking, washing, housekeeping and picking children up from school were based on

partnership, and the division of labour for certain tasks in the household is not clear (Sihite, 1995:398).

Children are very important in women's lives. The 1989 *Femina* poll found that the value of children is dependent on children's ability to strengthen the married life of their parents (45 per cent), children's own attributes such as smartness or courage, and children's performance (32 per cent), the guardians of the parents' name (20 per cent) and their capacity to protect parents (3 per cent) (Gunawan, 1992:9). The issue of 'the quality of time spent on child-rearing' which is more important than 'the quantity of time spent on child-rearing' was introduced by scholars such as Munandar (1983) and became a popular issue. The quality of childrearing has provided an alternative argument to the amount of time in childrearing, which had led to an assumption that working mothers are more likely than non-working mothers to have children with problems. This argument enables career women to claim that they also can be good mothers.

C. Research area

Urban Kalimantan was selected as a study area for two reasons. First, most studies on Kalimantan or Borneo concentrate on the anthropology and ethnology of the indigenous groups of the islands (Cleary and Eaton, 1992:1). Therefore, there are more studies about the life of Dayak women, who mainly live in remote areas, than about the life of urban women. In the nineteenth century, Alfred Russel Wallace reported on the life of Dayak women in his book *The Malay Archipelago* (1869:70 cited in Lontaan, 1975:36).

> A more real and efficient cause seems to be hard labour of women, and the heavy weights they constantly carry. A Dayak woman generally spends the whole day in the field, and carries home every night a heavy load of vegetables and firewood, often for several miles, over rough and hilly paths; and over slippery stepping-stones, to an elevation of thousand of feet. Besides this, she has an hour's work every evening to pound the rice with a heavy wooden stamper .....She begins this kind of labour when nine or ten years old....

Wallace's account of Dayak women indicates that working is not a new phenomenon in Kalimantan. Development, which is concentrated in urban areas, may provide more alternatives in job opportunities for women living in urban areas than in rural areas.

The second reason is that Kalimantan is rich in natural resources and has a small population, but the resources have not been able to provide maximum benefit to the local people by expanding job opportunities, which might influence whether or not a woman works. The wealth of this island encouraged Chinese and Arabs to come to Kalimantan even before the Europeans knew of its existence.

> Borneo has been a resource frontier, a zone which has attracted merchants, entrepreneurs, and mineral-concession seekers for many hundred years. Its exotic jungle products -rattans, bezoar stones taken from the gall-bladders of certain monkeys, camphor, bird's nests -were avidly collected and traded by Chinese merchants and Arab traders centuries before Europeans were even aware of the existence of this island. The forests were being exploited - not always in a sustainable fashion - long before the arrival of logging companies. In the nineteenth century, the production of primary commodities - timber, for example, or tobacco and rubber - were acting as significant controls on the nature of change and development, particularly as the colonial enterprise developed. If the pace of change is greatly accelerated today, the nature of the underlying forces animating that change is much the same (Cleary and Eaton, 1992:2).

The wealth of natural resources has not been able to provide maximum benefits to the local people because of at least three factors. First, larger enterprises and contracts are generally in the hands of people from Jakarta, instead of local entrepreneurs. Second, the resource base has encouraged some downstream processing industries, in cases of government dictates or because of the economics of on-site processing. But in the next stage of processing (for example, producing glue from methanol), business people in the region indicate a preference for locating plants near markets rather than near natural resources (Pangestu, 1989:174). Third, economic development in Kalimantan, as in other parts of Eastern Indonesia, is very much dependent on the government's investment as the island has not been a very attractive place to invest for the private sector (Alqadrie, 1993:5-6).

D. Methods of research

1. Data sources

The main sources of data used in this study are: first, the 1980 and 1990 Census data published by the Central Bureau of Statistics and various other sources; second, the data from the 1992 SUSENAS (*Survey Sosial Ekonomi Nasional,* National Social Economic Survey) carried out by the Central Bureau of Statistics; and third, the qualitative survey. The Census is carried out every ten years gathering information on basic socio-demographic characteristics. SUSENAS gathers much more information than the Census, therefore, the sample size of SUSENAS is more limited. The sampling frame of the 1992 SUSENAS was based on selection of sampling areas from the 1990 Census. Around 20 per cent of the areas sampled in the census were selected as the master sample frame from which the selection of all enumeration areas for all household surveys is based. Approximately 4,104 out of 180,000 enumeration areas in the frame were selected for SUSENAS 1992. Of the surveys carried out by the Central Bureau of Statistics, SUSENAS has the richest information on social conditions.

SUSENAS has two types of data: core and module data. The core data are gathered annually, while the module data are gathered every three years on average with topics depending on the needs of the government. The core data include name, relationship to household head, sex, age, marital status, travel, criminal victimisation, education, health, social, cultural and economic activity, fertility among ever-married women, family planning among currently married women, characteristics of housing, housing facilities and environment, average household consumption and main source of household income. The module data in the 1992 SUSENAS included health and nutrition, education, housing and environment while the 1993 SUSENAS included household consumption, expenditure and income (Central Bureau of Statistics, nd:1-5).

The published data are mainly used for analysing the relationships between development and households, and between economic development and the labour force. The 1992 SUSENAS data for urban Kalimantan are mainly used for analysing individual behaviour in regard to whether or not a woman works, and whether or not a woman works in a particular employment status. In the present

study the analysis of relationships between household members in regard to whether or not a woman works is based on data from qualitative research carried out in Pontianak, the capital city of West Kalimantan.

2. Definition of work

Working in this study is defined using the conventional labour-force approach. People aged ten years and over were asked about their main activity, which is the activity in which they spent most time during the seven consecutive days ending a day before the survey interview. Main activity has four categories: working, seeking a job, doing housework and studying. The people who are categorised as working are those who during a week before the survey meet the following criteria:

> (1) those who worked or assisted in a certain job for at least one hour to earn their income. Note, that this one hour should be performed continuously without interruption.
> (2) those who do not work at all or work for less than one hour but happen to be permanent workers or government employees who are on leave, sick, or on strike, absent, or have to stop working due to irregularities, such as machinery problems, or happen to be farmers in their slack time waiting for harvest or rainfall, or professionals such as doctors, barbers, masseurs and others who have to wait for customers for their job (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992h).

The classification of main activity indicates that the women who have either 'working', 'doing housework', 'studying' or 'others' as their main activity may also have another activity. For instance, women who are doing housework as their main activity may also be employed.

Compared to the SUSENAS, labour force data in the census are more likely to be subject to under-reporting because the interviewers in the census are teachers or other government employees instead of well trained *mantri statistik* (statistical officers) (Jones and Manning, 1992:366). Economic activities performed by women are very complex. The problem of under-reporting could be due to the different definitions of working between the survey and in practice. In the survey, those who assist someone to earn income are categorised as working while in daily life this activity is categorised as housework. For instance, a wife who helps her husband to prepare noodle soup to be sold is not categorised as working since the act of preparing noodle soup in daily life is regarded as a part of housework. Working

women are sensitive to various definitions of economic activities, the timing of enumeration, operational problems, such as the sex of the census takers and respondents: most interviewing is done by men and presumably most reporting by the head of the household, which may cause errors and bias (Jones, 1984:9).

3. Household

Although the meaning of 'household' and 'family' is not always the same, this study uses the terms interchangeably for ease. The term family refers to persons related by blood or marriage. The term household is usually used in macro surveys. The Central Bureau of Statistics (1992h) defines household as follows:

> An ordinary household is an individual or a group of people living in a physical/census building unit or part thereof who make common provision for food and other essentials of living.

Household member is defined as follows:

> Those who usually live in a particular household regardless of their location at the time of enumeration are classified as a household member. A person was no longer regarded as a member of his or her former household if the person had been absent from home for six months or longer, or had left home for the purpose of moving away even when the six month limit had not been reached. On the other hand, a guest who had stayed for six months or more, or even for less than six months but intended to move in was recorded as a household member.

The definition of household indicates that there is a possibility that household members do not have a blood relationship with the family, such as servants. The definition of the family according to the family law, *UU* No. 10/92, is the smallest unit in a society which consists of husband-wife, or husband-wife-children, or father and his children, or mother and her children (Sumardjan, 1993:14). The definition indicates that the family means the nuclear family.

E. Structure of the thesis

This thesis started with a quotation from Wolf's comparative study of daughters in Taiwan who are obedient and daughters in Java who are rebellious. Inspired by Wolf's criticism on the concept of household strategy, this study attempts to examine individual behaviour in regard to whether or not a woman works in the context of the household, and to explore household strategy. Two research

questions are proposed. The first question is who are working women and who are working women in a particular employment status ? The second question is what are their motives for work and how are they interrelated with household and macro socio-economic conditions ? To answer the questions, this study developed the concept of idealised family morality proposed by McDonald (1994). The idealised family morality is more able to capture complex interrelationships between household members compared with the previous concept of household strategy, which is based on the assumptions of the new home economics theory. The broader contexts of Indonesian state policy, the family and Indonesian women are presented to show the role of the state in change in family systems and individual behaviour.

Chapters 2 and 3 analyse the macro context of household and individual behaviour in urban Kalimantan. Chapter 2 examines the influence of development on the family in urban Kalimantan. It discusses how changing socio-economic conditions influence the conditions of the family. Socio-economic conditions discussed include changing fertility, mortality, marriage, education, access to mass media and transport. The chapter also discusses the implications of development for the conditions of the family which include increasing women's productive role, childrearing, housework and the problems of the unemployed. Chapter 3 discusses the labour market which includes labour supply and demand.

Chapter 4 examines the correlates of whether or not a woman works. Independent variables which are analysed include age, education, marital status, number of persons aged 0-4 years in the household, household expenditure, highest educational attainment and employment status of the household head. Chapter 5 examines the correlates of whether or not a woman works in a particular employment status. Four models based on employment status groups are examined; government and non-government employees, private and non-private employees, self-employed and non-self employed, and family workers and non- family workers. The independent variables in Chapter 5 are the same as those in Chapter 4. The main source of data in these chapters is the 1992 SUSENAS and the data are examined using the logistic regression model.

Chapters 6 and 7 examine individual behaviour in the context of the family using data from the qualitative research. Chapter 6 describes the methods of the qualitative research, the socio-economic conditions of Pontianak, the stories of eight women, who have various levels of educational attainment and who were working in various occupations or who were not working, and analyses factors influencing whether or not a woman works. Chapter 7 discusses working in the context of the family including work decisions in the family, motives for work and individual motives for work in the context of the family.

Chapter 8 presents the conclusions of the study which consist of three main points, advancing women's role in development, women's work and household strategy. The chapter ends with the implications of the study, theoretical as well as practical.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT AND THE HOUSEHOLD IN KALIMANTAN

This chapter provides background information about the household in Kalimantan. The influence of socio-economic development on household conditions is briefly discussed to give a better understanding of the relationship between household members and the construction of an idealised family morality. The chapter has three sections. Population, economic conditions, transport and communications are discussed in the first section. The second section discusses household structure and factors influencing it, which include fertility, mortality and age at marriage. The third and final section discusses household conditions which include education, working women, unemployment, housework and child-rearing.

A. Socio-economic conditions

Kalimantan consists of four provinces, West, South, East and Central Kalimantan, and various ethnic groups. The provinces of West, South and East Kalimantan were formally established on 1 January 1957. Central Kalimantan, which was part of South Kalimantan, was formally proclaimed as a separate province on 23 May 1957 (Mubyarto and Baswir, 1989:504). Ethnic groups in West and East Kalimantan are more varied than those in East and Central Kalimantan. Major ethnic groups in East Kalimantan are Dayaks, Banjarese, Javanese and Buginese (Widodo, 1993:12) while in West Kalimantan the major groups are Chinese, Malays and Dayaks. The population of Central Kalimantan is predominantly Dayak while the population of South Kalimantan is mainly Banjarese.

Islam is the major religion both in urban and rural areas (Table 2.1). In 1990 West Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of Muslims in urban areas (62 per cent) and urban plus rural areas (56 per cent) while almost 100 per cent of the population in

South Kalimantan was Muslim. The lower proportion of Muslims in urban plus rural areas than urban areas, especially in West and Central Kalimantan, is because of the Dayaks, the major ethnic group in rural areas, who are Christian or have traditional beliefs.

Table 2.1

Muslims of Kalimantan, 1990

Province	The Muslims			
	Urban		Urban+rural	
	%	Total population (000)	%	Total population (000)
West Kalimantan	62	645	56	3,229
Central Kalimantan	76	245	70	1,396
South Kalimantan	96	703	97	2,598
East Kalimantan	88	915	85	1,877
Indonesia	86	55,434	87	179,248

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

1. Population size and growth and urbanisation

Compared to the national average, Kalimantan has a small population and low population density (Table 2.2). The population of this island was 9.1 million or 5 per cent of the total population of Indonesia in 1990. The largest proportion of the population in 1990 was in West Kalimantan (35 per cent), followed by South (29 per cent), East (21 per cent) and Central Kalimantan (15 per cent). The distribution of the population between provinces in 1980 and 1990 was similar. A large area and a small population makes population density in Kalimantan low. Kalimantan has an area of 539,460 Km^2 or 28 per cent of the total area of Indonesia. East Kalimantan occupies 11 per cent of the total area of Indonesia; the rest of the area is shared between Central Kalimantan (8 per cent), West Kalimantan (8 per cent) and South Kalimantan (1 per cent) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1993). The population density per square kilometre in Kalimantan in 1990 (17) was less than one sixth of the population density of Indonesia (93) at the same period. South Kalimantan had the highest population density in Kalimantan and the density was more than three

times that of West Kalimantan. Population density in Central and East Kalimantan was similar, less than 10 persons per square kilometre.

Table 2.2

Population of Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Provinces	Population							Urbanisation rate (%)[a]	
	Size[a] (000)		Distribution[a] (%)		Growth[a] (%)	Density (per Km^2)[b]			
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980/ 1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
West Kalimantan	2,485	3,228	37	35	2.62	17	22	17	20
Central Kalimantan	954	1,396	15	15	3.81	6	9	10	18
South Kalimantan	2.063	2,597	30	29	2.30	55	69	21	27
East Kalimantan	1,215	1,875	18	21	4.34	6	9	40	49
Total	6,717	9,096	100	100	3.03	12	17	21	28

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d, 1992a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1993

The annual population growth rate between 1980 and 1990 in Kalimantan was higher than the national average (2 per cent) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1993). East Kalimantan had the highest population growth rate (4.3 per cent) followed by Central (3.8 per cent), West (2.6 per cent) and South Kalimantan (2.3 per cent). The high population growth rate was mainly due to migration, especially transmigration, the policy of transferring the population from the densely populated islands of Java, Madura and Bali to less developed islands. Kalimantan has been the second most important island for transmigration after Sumatra (Cleary and Eaton, 1992:230). The total number of transmigrants to Kalimantan in 1988/1989 was 7,723 families and in 1991/1992 was 16,940 families (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1993). Spontaneous migrants may also have made a significant contribution to the high population growth in East Kalimantan. Rapid economic development in this province has attracted migrants, especially those who are young and have a high level of education, to work in the mining industry (Mubyarto, 1991:67).

The proportion of the population living in urban areas, the urbanisation rate, is increasing (Table 2.2). The increase in urbanisation in East and Central Kalimantan was more rapid than in West and South Kalimantan. The urbanisation rate in East Kalimantan (40 per cent in 1980 and 49 per cent in 1990) was much higher than in

the other provinces because of the rapid economic development in East Kalimantan which has attracted migrants and changes in classification from rural to urban. For instance the change in the administrative region of Bontang from sub-district to municipality (Widodo, 1993:67) may have contributed to the high population growth in urban East Kalimantan. The rapid increase in the urbanisation rate in Central Kalimantan from 10 per cent in 1980 to 18 per cent in 1990 was mainly because of recent economic development in this province which had been left behind by the other provinces. The urbanisation rate in the Central province was the lowest in Kalimantan in 1990.

2. Economic conditions

Compared to Western Indonesia, which includes Java, Bali and Sumatra, economic development in Eastern Indonesia, which includes Kalimantan, East Timor, Sulawesi and Irian, is lagging behind and is much more dependent upon the investment of the government sector, especially in infrastructure such as bridges, harbours and energy. The ratio of private to government investment in the Fourth Five Year Development plan was 3:1 in Western Indonesia, 2.6:1 in Kalimantan and 1.8:1 in the Eastern Indonesia outside Kalimantan (Alqadrie, 1993:5). The higher ratio in Kalimantan than in the other parts of Eastern Indonesia may be due to the concentration of investment in oil and gas and timber in East Kalimantan. Kalimantan in general has not been as attractive as Java for private investors because of the poor infrastructure and small population.

Kalimantan is rich in natural resources. In 1991, the share of wood processing products to the total export values was 74 per cent in West, 63 per cent in Central and 72 per cent in South Kalimantan and the share of oil and gas to the total export value was 86 per cent in East Kalimantan (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992e:1377-1378). The richness of the natural resources contributes to the different economic features of Central and East Kalimantan compared to West and South Kalimantan. Economic development in Central Kalimantan is mixed. Despite much encouraging progress, indicated by the high per capita income and the rapid economic growth, development in this province is hindered by isolation, poor

physical infrastructure, and a natural resource base restricted to forestry products (Mubyarto and Baswir, 1989:509).

East Kalimantan is one of the richest provinces in Indonesia, because of the oil and timber booms. Although the oil and gas booms are over, East Kalimantan remains a high-income province by Indonesian standards (Pangestu, 1989:6). The richness of this province resembles the world economy (Mubyarto, 1991:65). However, the economy of East Kalimantan is described as one 'of superlatives and of economic extremes: it has some of the world's most modern technology in its enclave industries and some of its most ancient among the isolated tribes in the interior' (Darusman, 1979: 43). The regional government of East Kalimantan admitted that the effect of mining on the economic life of local people was very small (Widodo, 1993:9).

Based on 1983 constant prices, per capita income in all provinces in Kalimantan increased from at least Rp. 411,000 in 1987 to at least Rp. 535,000 in 1992 (Table 2.3). Except for East Kalimantan, per capita income in each of the provinces of Kalimantan was lower than the national per capita income. Per capita income in East Kalimantan was the highest and more than four times higher than the national per capita income, partly because of the high economic growth. Based on 1983 constant prices, annual economic growth between 1987 and 1992 excluding oil in West (8.5 per cent), Central (7.7 per cent) and South (8.5 per cent) and East Kalimantan (8.4 per cent) was above the national average (7.4 per cent).

The high economic growth in Kalimantan has not provided maximum benefits to the local people: the incidence of poverty is high. The poor[2] made up 55 per cent of the total population in West Kalimantan, 53 per cent in Central Kalimantan, 46 per cent in East Kalimantan and 32 per cent in South Kalimantan. The percentage of the poor in all provinces of Kalimantan was higher than in Western Indonesia (30 per cent). The percentage poor in West, Central and East Kalimantan was higher than

[2] Those who are able to meet less than 75 per cent of the amount of expenditure required to satisfy the average minimum calorie requirement of 2,100 plus some basic/minimum non-food expenditure which includes (a) housing, fuel, light and water (b) miscellaneous goods and services (c) clothing, footwear and (d) durable goods (Asra, 1993:4,13; Alqadrie, 1993:4).

that in Eastern Indonesia (43 per cent) and the Indonesian average (34 per cent) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1990 cited in Alqadrie; 1993).

Table 2.3

Economic indicators for Kalimantan, 1987 - 1992

Provinces	Per capita income (000 rupiahs) [a]		Annual economic growth (%) [a]	Retail price of rice per kg (Rp) [b]	Percentage poor [c]
	1987	1992	1987-1992	1990	1990
West Kalimantan	411	535	8.52	481	55
Central Kalimantan	514	621	7.69	505	53
South Kalimantan	459	613	8.46	495	32
East Kalimantan	3,272	3,186	8.41	505	46
Indonesia	563	712	7.35	452	34

Source:
a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992g
West, Central, South and East Kalimantan and Indonesia are represented by capital cities, Pontianak, Palangkaraya, Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Jakarta respectively.
c Central Bureau of Statistics, 1990 cited in Alqadrie, 1993.

The cost of living as indicated by the retail price of rice in cities in Kalimantan is higher than in Jakarta (Table 2.3). The costs of living in Samarinda, the capital city of East Kalimantan, and Palangkaraya, the capital of Central Kalimantan, were similar and were higher than that in Banjarmasin, the capital of South Kalimantan, and Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan. The cost of living outside the capital cities of the four provinces can be much higher. In her survey in East Kalimantan in the late 1980s, Pangestu (1989:162) argued that the high cost of living in this province leads to expensive services and higher wages. Inflation in this province has been generally higher than that of other provinces. The high cost of living is also an indication of a narrow agricultural and manufacturing base and of the need to ship in most daily necessities. Poor infrastructure has caused very large price variations between regions in the province. Prices in some of the more remote towns, such as Tanjung Selor and Tanah Grogot, are as much as twice those in Samarinda and Balikpapan. The prices in the hinterland are much higher than in

the coastal and river regions. Except for the oil boom, causes of the high cost of living in East Kalimantan may be similar to those in the other provinces.

Except in East Kalimantan, the tertiary sector, trade, restaurants, hotels, transport and communication, financing and services, shared the largest proportion of Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP): 50 per cent in South, 49 per cent in West and 46 per cent in Central Kalimantan. The GRDP in East Kalimantan was dominated by the primary sector, agriculture and mining, particularly mining (40 per cent). The contribution of agriculture to the 1990 GRDP was around one-third or less but it employed more than one-fourth of the total labour force. In East Kalimantan, agriculture contributed 9 per cent of the total GRDP but it employed 48 per cent of the total labour force. In the same province, in contrast, the share of mining in the total GRDP was 38 per cent but it was only 4 per cent in the total labour force. This may contribute to the high incidence of poverty in Kalimantan, since the labour force is concentrated in the agricultural sector which has low productivity.

Table 2.4

Distribution of Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) and Labour force by industry, Kalimantan, 1990

	Province							
	Gross Regional Domestic Product (%)[a]				Labour Force (%)[b]			
Industrial composition	West	Central	South	East	West	Central	South	East
Primary Sector	**28**	**32**	**31**	**49**	**74**	**65**	**57**	**48**
Agriculture	28	32	27	9	73	62	55	44
Mining	0	0	4	40	1	3	2	4
Secondary Sector	**23**	**22**	**19**	**31**	**7**	**12**	**13**	**16**
Manufacturing	19	11	15	29	5	10	10	11
Electricity, gas and water supply	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Construction	4	10	3	2	2	2	3	5
Tertiary Sector	**49**	**46**	**50**	**20**	**19**	**22**	**30**	**36**
Trade, restaurant, hotel	24	25	23	12	7	9	14	14
Transport and communication	7	6	9	3	2	2	3	5
Financing	5	1	4	1	1	0	0	1
Services	13	14	14	4	9	11	13	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

3. Transport and communication

Transport and communication are important factors in distributing population, information and socio-economic development. Transport in Kalimantan is mainly dependent on rivers. The name of Kalimantan, from *mantan* (big) and *kali* (rivers), indicates the importance of water transport in this island. The Kapuas in West Kalimantan, the Mahakam in East Kalimantan and the Barito in South Kalimantan are the biggest rivers in Kalimantan. Water transport plays a significant role in intra-provincial transport especially in much of the interior and within cities.

Transport between Jakarta and the capital cities of the provinces is much easier than between the capital cities themselves. Pontianak remains isolated from the other capital cities because it can only be reached by air while Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Palangkaraya have been linked by roads which have only been properly developed in the last fifteen years (Cleary and Eaton, 1992:120-121). Pontianak is more accessible from Sarawak than the other capital cities because of the availability of roads, which have been developed since the late 1980s. Pontianak and Sarawak are linked by public buses and private cars. People from Sarawak come to Pontianak for family visits, trips or shopping and people from Pontianak go to Sarawak for trips or working.

Land-transport, which runs within cities, between cities and between regions, is developing rapidly. From 1979 to 1989, the number of public passenger cars and buses, and private motor cycles, increased significantly (Table 2.5). The increase in public transport (at least 142 per cent) was less than that of private transport (at least 211 per cent). That Central Kalimantan had the smallest population was related to the smallest volume of public and private transport in this province. West Kalimantan, which had the largest population, had fewer motor cycles than South Kalimantan and far fewer passenger cars and buses than South and East Kalimantan.

Table 2.5

Public and private transport, Kalimantan, 1979 and 1989

	Public transport (passenger cars and buses)			Personal transport[a] (motor cycles)		
Provinces	1979	1989	Change (%)	1979	1989	Change (%)
West Kalimantan	3,168	12,519	295	24,353	97,564	301
Central Kalimantan	594	2,847	379	8,775	27,314	211
South Kalimantan	5,084	23,315	359	37,950	118,133	211
East Kalimantan	9,872	23,865	142	30,703	96,943	216
Kalimantan	18,718	62,546	234	101,781	339,954	234

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1982, 1992g
Note: a There are no data on private cars

Although Kalimantan is geographically separated from Jakarta, the people in this island, especially those who live in urban areas, are not isolated from daily national and international news and other information. National newspapers, such as *Kompas* and *Republika,* various popular current-affairs magazines such as *Editor*, *Gatra* and *Ummat*, and women's magazines such as *Kartini* and *Femina*, are available at kiosks and book-stores. Local newspapers, *Banjarmasin Post* in South Kalimantan and *Akcaya* in West Kalimantan, which publish not only local but also national and international news, are popular; both are on the Internet.

The people of Kalimantan also have access to information through state and private national and even international television. An increasing number of households have access to information, more in urban than rural areas. Households which owned television sets in urban and rural areas were at most 23 per cent in 1980 and at most 39 per cent in 1990. Urban households which owned television sets were at least 35 per cent in 1980 and at least 56 per cent in 1990 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b,c, d, 1992a, b, c, d).

In the early era of private television in Indonesia in the 1990s, the first private television channel, RCTI, *Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia,* could not be received in Kalimantan, except with a parabola antenna. Since then, parabola antennae have

been sold in Kalimantan. Now a number of private television channels, not only RCTI, can be received without antennae, but antennae are still needed to enhance the quality of the picture and to receive international television such as from Malaysia and Singapore. On the border of Kalimantan and Malaysia, Malaysian television was received much sooner than the national Indonesian television broadcast from Jakarta.

B. Household structure

1. Household size and type

The number of households in Kalimantan has increased significantly and average household size has decreased (Table 2.6). The number of households in urban plus rural Kalimantan increased by 46 per cent, from 1.3 million in 1980 to 1.9 million in 1990, mainly because of the rapid increase, almost twofold, in the number of households in urban areas. The increase in the number of households in Central and East Kalimantan was much more rapid than in West and South Kalimantan. Household size between the four provinces did not differ greatly, averaging around four to five, with the household size in West Kalimantan the largest.

Table 2.6

Household and household size, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Province	Household (000)						Average household size			
	1980[a]		1990[b]		Change (%)		1980[a]		1990[b]	
	Urban	Urban+ rural	Urban	Urban+ rural	Urban	Urban+ rural	Urban	Urban+ rural	Urban	Urban+ rural
West Kalimantan	74	458	119	640	61	40	5.6	5.4	5.4	5.0
Central Kalimantan	18	186	54	306	193	65	5.4	5.1	4.6	4.6
South Kalimantan	87	444	152	597	75	34	5.1	4.6	4.6	4.4
East Kalimantan	91	235	189	399	108	70	5.4	5.2	4.9	4.7
Total	270	1,323	514	1,942	90	47	5.3	4.9	4.7	4.5

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

Kalimantan generally has the nuclear type of family, which mainly consists of a father, a mother and children. Members of nuclear households, household heads, spouses and children, were the largest proportion of household members, constituting at least 78 per cent of the population in 1980 and 81 per cent in 1990 in urban Kalimantan, and at least 85 per cent of the population in 1980 and 86 per cent in 1990 in urban plus rural Kalimantan (Table 2.7). The largest proportion of members of nuclear households were children, at least 44 per cent in 1980 and at least 45 per cent in 1990 in urban Kalimantan and at least 49 per cent in 1980 and at least 47 per cent in 1990 in urban plus rural Kalimantan. The proportions of the members of nuclear households from 1980 and 1990 were not greatly different.

Household size in urban areas was slightly higher than in rural areas (Table 2.6) because household members may include non-relatives (servants and others) and relatives other than sons- or daughters-in-law, parents-in-law and grandchildren. The proportion of other relatives and non-relatives in urban areas was higher than in urban plus rural areas. In 1990, the proportion of the other relatives was at least 7 per cent in urban areas and at least 4 per cent in urban plus rural areas. In the same year, the proportion of non-relatives was at least 2 per cent in urban areas and at least 1 per cent in urban plus rural areas. This is mainly because of the concentration of socio-economic development in urban areas, which may attract other relatives and non-relatives from the villages to stay in the cities. The relatives may stay in urban areas to work, study or help with housework, and the non-relatives may include servants or lodgers.

Table 2.7

Relationship with the household head, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Relationship with the household head	1980[a]		1990[b]	
	Urban (%)	Urban + rural (%)	Urban (%)	Urban + rural (%)
West Kalimantan				
Head of household	17.1	18.5	18.4	19.8
Spouse	14.1	16.0	14.8	16.8
Children	52.3	51.6	47.4	51.0
Children-in-law	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.2
Grandchildren	3.1	2.7	3.4	2.5
Parent/parent-in-law	2.3	2.8	2.5	2.5
Other relatives	8.1	5.8	8.7	4.7
Servant	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2
Others	1.4	0.9	2.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Central Kalimantan				
Head of household	18.3	20.0	21.9	21.9
Spouse	15.3	16.7	17.2	18.1
Children	44.1	52.0	45.4	50.3
Children-in-law	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.7
Grandchildren	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.0
Parent/parent-in-law	1.6	2.0	1.4	1.5
Other relatives	14.8	4.8	8.9	4.3
Servant	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
Others	2.7	1.0	1.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
South Kalimantan				
Head of household	19.7	21.7	21.7	23.0
Spouse	15.8	16.8	16.9	17.8
Children	49.7	49.4	46.8	48.0
Children-in-law	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.1
Grandchildren	2.7	3.4	2.8	2.9
Parent/parent-in-law	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.9
Other relatives	6.7	4.1	6.5	3.8
Servant	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.1
Others	1.6	0.7	2.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
East Kalimantan				
Head of household	18.8	19.7	20.6	21.3
Spouse	15.1	16.0	17.1	17.6
Children	48.6	48.8	45.7	47.1
Children-in-law	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.8
Grandchildren	2.6	2.5	1.8	1.9
Parent/parent-in-law	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.6
Other relatives	9.1	7.8	10.1	7.7
Servant	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.4
Others	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d.
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

Household heads in Kalimantan are mostly men and it seems there has been no significant change between 1980 and 1990. At least 85 per cent of household heads were men who were mainly aged 25 years and older (Table 2.8). The proportion of male headed households in South Kalimantan was slightly lower than in the other provinces because of the tendency of Banjarese to migrate.

Table 2.8

Characteristics of household heads, Kalimantan 1990

Province	Characteristics of household heads									
	Male headed household (%)		Age group (%)							
	Urban	Urban +rural	Urban				Urban+rural			
			10-24	25-39	40 or older	Total	10-24	25-39	40 or older	Total
West Kalimantan	91	92	6	41	53	100	11	19	70	100
Central Kalimantan	90	91	10	51	39	100	17	28	54	100
South Kalimantan	87	85	8	45	47	100	14	21	65	100
East Kalimantan	99	92	6	54	40	100	12	26	62	100

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

2. Fertility, mortality and age structure

The combined effects of declining fertility and mortality and increasing life expectancy at birth may have contributed to the slight decrease in household size from 1980 to 1990. Fertility in all provinces of Kalimantan has been continuously declining (Table 2.9). The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) was at least 5.4 in the period 1967-1970 and at least 4.6 in the period 1976-1979. In the period 1986-1989, the TFR was at most 4.4. In the three periods, the TFR in West and Central Kalimantan was higher than in South and East Kalimantan and Indonesia. Declining fertility in Kalimantan is influenced by the availability of family planning services especially from the government. The family planning program in Kalimantan was started later than in Java; it began formally in the second five-year development plan (PELITA II), 1974/1975, in West and South Kalimantan and in the third five year

development plan (PELITA III), 1975/1976, in Central and East Kalimantan. The number of family planning clinics in 1992 was 205 in West Kalimantan, 226 in South Kalimantan, 234 in Central Kalimantan and 225 in East Kalimantan (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1993).

Table 2.9

Total Fertility Rate (TFR) for Kalimantan, 1967-1970, 1976-1979 and 1986/1989

	Total Fertility Rate (TFR)		
Province	1967-1970	1976-1979	1986-1989
West Kalimantan	6.3	5.5	4.4
Central Kalimantan	6.8	5.9	4.0
South Kalimantan	5.4	4.6	3.2
East Kalimantan	5.4	5.0	3.3
Indonesia	5.6	4.7	3.3

Source: Sukamdi, 1992:33

Mortality in all provinces of Kalimantan has also been continuously declining leading to increasing life expectancy (Table 2.10). The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) in all provinces of Kalimantan has declined from at least 100 per 1000 live births in 1980 to at most 91 per 1000 live births in 1990. The IMR in East and Central Kalimantan was lower than in West and South Kalimantan and Indonesia. Life expectancy at birth was 51 at maximum in 1971 and 56 at minimum in 1990. Life expectancy at birth in East and Central Kalimantan was higher than in West and South Kalimantan and Indonesia as a whole.

Table 2.10

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and life expectancy at birth, Kalimantan 1980 and 1990

	Infant Mortality Rate		Life expectancy at birth	
Province	1980	1990	1980	1990
West Kalimantan	117	80	51	58
Central Kalimantan	100	56	54	63
South Kalimantan	122	91	50	56
East Kalimantan	99	56	54	63
Indonesia	107	69	53	60

Source: Kasto, 1992:16

The proportion of household members aged 0-14 slightly reduced and the proportion aged 15 and over slightly increased (Table 2.11). Household members aged 0-14 were around 39 to 45 per cent in 1980 and 33 to 41 per cent in 1990. The tendency of the proportion of household members aged 65 and older to increase indicates the likelihood of households having non-productive members such as older parents who were previously primary breadwinners and who do not have any retirement benefit and usually have become dependent on their children.

Table 2.11

Age structure of the population, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Age groups	Population (%)			
	1980[a]		1990[b]	
	Urban	Urban+rural	Urban	Urban+rural
West Kalimantan				
0-14	41	43	35	41
15-64	56	54	61	55
65+	3	2	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100
Central Kalimantan				
0-14	41	45	36	41
15-64	58	53	62	56
65+	1	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
South Kalimantan				
0-14	39	41	33	36
15-64	59	56	63	59
65+	2	2	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
East Kalimantan				
0-14	40	42	35	38
15-64	59	56	62	59
65+	2	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics: 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics: 1992a, b, c, d

3. The unmarried and increasing age at first marriage

The proportion of household members who are single in Kalimantan has tended to increase (Table 2.12) and single women marry later (Table 2.13), which may contribute to the household size since the unmarried in Kalimantan are likely to stay with their parents, unless they migrate. The proportion unmarried for women and men in urban plus rural Kalimantan was 35 to 40 per cent in 1980 and 30 to 41 per cent in 1990. It was higher in urban areas than in rural areas and women were less likely than men to be single. The unmarried in urban areas are not only of urban origin but also migrants from rural areas. The migrants in urban areas may stay in households where they work as servants, in dormitories of the factories where they work, in a relative's house, in a rented room or in a shared house with other migrants.

Table 2.12

The population unmarried* aged 10 years and over, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Province	Population unmarried (%)							
	1980[a]				1990[b]			
	Urban		Urban+rural		Urban		Urban+rural	
	Women	Women+ men	Women	Women+ men	Women	Women +men	Women	Women+ men
West Kalimantan	42	48	35	40	44	49	37	41
Central Kalimantan	40	45	32	37	41	46	35	40
South Kalimantan	37	43	29	35	40	45	40	40
East Kalimantan	38	44	34	40	39	45	43	39

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics: 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics: 1992a, b, c, d

* Unmarried consists of single, divorced and widowed.

Increasing age at marriage will influence the patterns of living arrangement. Mean age at marriage was 21 at maximum in 1980 and 21 at minimum in 1990 in urban plus rural areas, 24 at maximum in 1980 and 23 at minimum in 1990 in urban areas (Table 2.13). The older age at marriage in urban areas prolongs the period of living with parents among the urban unmarried and the period of living away from parents among the single rural migrants. Women in West Kalimantan are likely to marry later than those in the other provinces. Mean age at marriage in urban West Kalimantan was 24 in 1980 and 25 in 1990, which was around two years older than in urban areas of the other provinces. Ages at marriage in Central, South and East Kalimantan were similar.

Table 2.13

Women's average age at first marriage, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Women's average age at first marriage			
	Urban		Urban+rural	
Province	1980	1990	1980	1990
West Kalimantan	23.5	24.7	21.3	22.0
Central Kalimantan	20.5	22.9	20.0	21.1
South Kalimantan	21.6	23.2	19.8	21.8
East Kalimantan	21.6	23.0	20.9	22.5
Indonesia	21.8	24.0	20.0	21.9

Source: Hendria et al., 1993:26

C. Household conditions

1. Education

Mean education levels of household members are increasing and household members in urban areas have higher educational attainment than those in rural areas. Table 2.14 shows that both in 1980 and 1990, the proportions of household members who had completed primary education or less decreased but they were still the largest. At least 79 per cent of household members in 1980 and at most 78 per cent of household members in 1990 had completed primary education. In 1990, the proportions of household members who had at least senior high school education

tended to be higher than those who had junior high school education especially in urban areas. This pattern is the opposite of the pattern in 1980 which indicates the rapid increase in the proportion of household members who had at least senior high school education. Female household members with high education are increasing rapidly. The proportion of female household members who had at least senior high school education in urban areas was at most 14 per cent in 1980 and at least 20 per cent in 1990, and this proportion was lower than that of male household members who had the same level of educational attainment.

Table 2.14

The population by highest educational attainment, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Population by highest educational attainment (%)							
	1980[a]				1990[b]			
	Urban		Urban+rural		Urban		Urban+rural	
Highest educational attainment	Women	Women +men	Women	Women +men	Women	Women +men	Women	Women +men
West Kalimantan								
Incomplete primary school	48	46	71	69	32	30	55	52
Completed primary school	30	28	20	20	28	27	26	26
Junior high school	14	15	6	7	20	19	11	11
Senior High School or higher	9	11	3	4	21	24	8	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Central Kalimantan								
Incomplete primary school	31	26	61	57	25	23	44	39
Completed primary school	31	28	29	29	30	28	34	34
Junior high school	24	25	7	9	22	21	13	14
Senior High School or higher	14	21	4	5	24	28	9	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
South Kalimantan								
Incomplete primary school	47	42	65	60	31	24	46	40
Completed primary school	31	31	25	26	31	29	33	33
Junior high school	13	15	7	8	18	19	11	13
Senior High School or higher	8	11	4	6	20	28	10	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
East Kalimantan								
Incomplete primary school	43	38	57	52	27	21	39	32
Completed primary school	32	29	28	27	32	27	32	29
Junior high school	16	18	10	12	20	20	15	17
Senior High School or higher	9	15	5	9	21	32	14	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

The importance of formal education for children encourages parents to give education to their children. The Gross Enrollment Rate (GER) is the proportion of the population of a certain age group at a particular level of education to the total population eligible for schooling at that level of education. It indicates that primary education is affordable for most of the parents and has become universal. The GER at the primary school was at least 86 per cent in urban plus rural areas and at least 95 per cent in urban areas.

Table 2.15

General enrolment rate by sex and age group, Kalimantan, 1990

Age group[a]	General enrolment rate (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Women+ men	Women	Women+ men	Women	Women +men	Women	Women+ men
Urban								
7-12	95	95	96	96	95	95	96	96
13-15	86	87	87	88	81	82	86	88
16-18	67	69	75	78	60	63	63	66
Urban + rural								
7-12	85	86	92	92	91	91	93	93
13-15	66	68	71	72	62	64	74	76
16-18	35	38	42	44	37	40	46	48

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d
Note: a 7-12=primary school, 13-15=junior high school, 16-18=senior high school

The availability of educational institutions from primary school to college and university in every province enables parents to give daughters the same education as sons. The relatively equal opportunity for daughters and sons is indicated by the GER by sex at all levels of education. The female GER at all levels of education was not greatly different from the male GER, both in urban and urban plus rural areas. Higher education is more affordable for parents in urban areas than in rural areas; this is indicated by the higher GER in urban areas than in urban plus rural areas at all levels of education. The difference in the GER between urban and rural areas is greater at higher levels of education. At primary school level, the GER in urban areas was only slightly higher than in rural areas with the greatest difference in West Kalimantan, 95 per cent in urban areas and 86 per cent in urban plus rural areas. At the university level, the GER in urban areas was at least 1.5 times higher than in urban plus rural areas.

Parents are not likely to hesitate to send daughters to schools because of the proximity of schools, which may also mean less expense, and the availability of transport which is relatively fast and easy. Table 2.16 shows that in 1989/1990, the number of primary schools ranged from the smallest in East Kalimantan (1,971) to the largest in West Kalimantan (3,563). West Kalimantan also had the largest number of junior (556) and senior high schools (165) and senior vocational schools (49). However, this province had fewer universities and colleges (11) than in South (16) and East Kalimantan (15). East Kalimantan had the smallest number of primary schools while Central Kalimantan had the smallest number of junior and senior high schools. In all the four provinces, the number of vocational schools was much smaller than the number of general schools.

Table 2.16

Number of educational institutions, Kalimantan, 1989/1990

Province	Educational institutions					
	Primary schools	Lower secondary		Higher secondary		Colleges and university
		Junior High Schools	Junior Vocational Schools	Senior High Schools	Senior Vocational Schools	
West Kalimantan	3563	556	3	165	49	11
Central Kalimantan	2542	268	3	76	27	11
South Kalimantan	2938	298	3	103	37	16
East Kalimantan	1971	332	6	121	47	15

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1993

2. Working women

Households in Kalimantan now are more likely to have female members who are working. Although female household members in urban areas are less likely to work than those in rural areas, their number is increasing more rapidly than in rural areas. The female labour force participation rate in urban areas was at most 21 per cent in 1980 and at least 25 per cent in 1990 while in urban plus rural areas it was at most 44 per cent in 1980 and at least 32 per cent in 1990 (Table 2.17). Both in 1980 and 1990, female labour force participation in urban East and West Kalimantan was similar and lower than in South and Central Kalimantan. Female labour force participation for urban plus rural East Kalimantan was the lowest, 21 per cent in 1980 and 32 per cent in 1990. In contrast, female labour force participation in urban plus rural West Kalimantan was the highest, 44 per cent in 1980 and 48 per cent in 1990.

Table 2.17

Female labour force participation rate, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Female labour force participation (%)			
	1980[a]		1990[b]	
Province	Urban	Urban +rural	Urban	Urban +rural
West Kalimantan	13.5	44.1	25.0	48.2
Central Kalimantan	21.4	42.4	29.7	42.3
South Kalimantan	17.7	35.3	27.9	44.3
East Kalimantan	14.8	21.0	25.1	32.3

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

Contribution of women to household needs is not a new phenomenon among the poor, but this phenomenon tends to be increasing among middle-class families who have high aspirations for household needs. A study among the readers of the women's magazine, *Femina,* who tend to have a middle-class background, found the highest proportion (64 per cent) regarded household needs as the shared responsibility of husbands and wives. Around 45 per cent thought that wives might contribute to the household through working. Only 6 per cent of the women regarded men as the only breadwinners (Gunawan, 1992:12).

3. Unemployment

The incidence of unemployment has increased over time with urban households more likely to have unemployed members than rural households; and female household members more likely to be unemployed than male household members. The unemployment rate in urban plus rural areas was at least 1 per cent for both women and men in 1980 and at least 2 per cent for women and 1 per cent for men in 1990 (Table 2.18). The unemployment rate in urban areas was at least 3 per cent for women and at least 1 per cent for men in 1980 and increased to at least 6 per cent for women and 4 per cent for men in 1990. The lower male than female unemployment rate may be due to the fact that men are more likely to be primary

breadwinners than women. The female unemployment rate in urban West Kalimantan was the highest, 4.7 per cent in 1980 and 10.7 per cent in 1990. Urban West Kalimantan also had the highest male unemployment rate in 1980 (3 per cent). In 1990, the male unemployment rate in West Kalimantan was similar to that in East and South Kalimantan, more than 5 per cent, which was higher than that of Central Kalimantan (3.6 per cent).

Table 2.18

Unemployment rate by sex, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Unemployment rate (%)							
	1980[a]				1990[b]			
	Urban		Urban +rural		Urban		Urban +rural	
Province	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
West Kalimantan	4.7	3.1	1.3	0.9	10.7	5.5	2.1	1. 8
Central Kalimantan	4.3	1.4	0.8	0.7	6.2	3.7	2.5	1.4
South Kalimantan	4.0	2.6	3.0	2.8	6.9	5.7	3.1	3.4
East Kalimantan	3.0	2.4	1.8	1.6	8.9	6.6	4.9	4.1

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

Being unemployed is distressing for many men and women. Men usually suffer more than women since working is closely related to men's self esteem. Being unemployed may also affect other household members. Wives of unemployed husbands and parents of unemployed sons will also be distressed because of the low social status of men who are unemployed.

Being unemployed may contribute to delayed marriage. Men are less likely to marry before obtaining jobs because women are less likely to marry unemployed men. A study indicates that the most important criterion for a husband is having an established job and earnings; this was mentioned by 89 per cent of *Femina*'s single respondents to the 1989 poll (Gunawan, 1992:6). Being unemployed may reduce women's chances to meet potential husbands. A long period of schooling followed by a long period of being unemployed may create more difficulties for women in finding potential husbands since men tend to choose younger women to be their wives.

4. Housework

Women, working or not working, regard housework as their responsibility although in practice they may be assisted by servants or by husbands who help in home decorating or cleaning (Gunawan, 1992:5). The increasing availability of modern facilities such as electricity and piped water may reduce the amount of housework for women in Kalimantan. Women in urban households have more access to modern facilities and they are more able to manage housework than women in rural households. The availability of electricity makes it possible to use electric labour-saving devices which simplify housework. The proportion of households with electricity for lighting in urban plus rural areas was at most 34 per cent in 1980 and at least 27 per cent in 1990 while in urban areas it was at most 64 per cent in 1980 and at least 74 per cent in 1990 (Table 2.19). However, electricity is still relatively expensive for cooking; so kerosene is more likely to be used as fuel for cooking. At least 47 per cent of the urban households in 1980 and at least 57 per cent of the urban households in 1990 used kerosene for cooking. Although kerosene is not as easy to use as electricity or gas, it is easier than wood. Housework also is more manageable with the availability of piped water. Urban households which used piped water for drinking were at most 25 per cent in 1980 and at least 22 per cent in 1990.

Table 2.19

Households by types of facilities, Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Province	Households by types of facilities (%)			
	1980[a]		1990[b]	
	Urban	Urban + rural	Urban	Urban + rural
	Electricity as main fuel for lighting			
West Kalimantan	59.7	16.7	81.6	27.8
Central Kalimantan	49.4	12.8	74.4	26.9
South Kalimantan	63.6	21.8	90.0	44.6
East Kalimantan	61.7	33.8	88.0	57.6
	Kerosene as main fuel for cooking			
West Kalimantan	77.3	25.5	91.4	46.3
Central Kalimantan	47.2	12.2	57.2	21.6
South Kalimantan	49.1	17.3	63.4	24. 5
East Kalimantan	82.8	45.9	89.3	56.7
	Piped water as source of drinking water			
West Kalimantan	13.2	2.3	31.5	7.2
Central Kalimantan	0. 7	0.2	22.0	5.6
South Kalimantan	25.2	6.7	39.7	12.6
East Kalimantan	15.6	6.2	45.1	23.9

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

5. Childrearing

The most difficult household task is childrearing. Households may make adjustments to accommodate housework such as by purchasing meals at the market. However, parents generally expect that they can provide the best quality of childrearing while women in the better-off households, who are more likely to have high education, tend to work (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984:181). Middle class mothers in Kalimantan who cannot combine working and childrearing seem to have more difficulties in finding substitute care-givers because young girls have higher education and are more likely to prefer work in the formal sector, such as in the factory, to being a servant. Formal childcare has not been popular and parents do not necessarily live with married children.

Among middle-class families, childrearing seems to be strongly related to the social status of the family irrespective of the children's needs. Servants and baby sitters as substitute care-givers are an indication of the high social status of the family because not all households can afford to employ them. When children start school, their school performance is regarded as an indication of the social status of the family. Parents in middle-class families are likely to regard school performance as the most important indicator of accomplished children. Since helping children with school work is less likely to be delegated to housemaids, mothers themselves have to help their children with school work.

D. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the influence of socio-economic development on household conditions. Socio-economic development is more concentrated in urban areas which induces an increase in the proportion of the population residing in urban areas, mainly through migration and changing rural to urban classification. The population, especially in urban areas, is not isolated from national and international news because of the availability of mass media.

During 1980-1990, household size in Kalimantan decreased slightly because declining fertility was accompanied by factors which increased household size such as declining mortality and an increasing age at marriage. Household size in urban areas tends to be larger than that of rural areas because of the greater tendency of non-relatives such as servants or lodgers and distant relatives, other than sons or daughters-in-law, grandchildren and grandparents, to stay in urban than in rural households. This may be because of the concentration of socio-economic development in urban areas which attracts migrants from rural areas.

Socio-economic development influences household conditions. As education of household members increases, parents provide more equal opportunity in education to daughters and sons and female household members have higher rates of economic activity outside the family circle. At the same time, households are more likely to have members who are unemployed and female household members are more likely to be unemployed than male household members. Increasing education and factory employment also may reduce the willingness of women to be housemaids and this creates difficulties for middle-class women, especially those who have jobs which cannot be combined with childrearing. The eagerness of parents to have accomplished children, which is mainly understood in terms of school performance, has produced a disproportionate load on children in education and has placed demands on mothers' time in helping with children's school activities. However, increases in household facilities such as electricity and piped water enable women to manage housework more efficiently.

Changing household conditions influence the construction of an idealised morality and interrelationships among household members. For instance, the increase in the number of working mothers accompanied by the lesser likelihood of women being housemaids encourage parents to teach children to be independent. The children are taught to understand the situation of their families and to know when they can make their own decisions without consulting parents, when they need to ask for suggestions from other household members, when they need to be understood and when they need to understand other family members. Increasing education of family members enables them to see critically an idealised family morality imposed by the state which is not always true and good for them.

CHAPTER 3

FEMALE LABOUR MARKET IN URBAN KALIMANTAN

This chapter provides background information about the female labour market in urban Kalimantan. The conditions of the labour market are analysed to provide context for discussion of the influence of individual and household characteristics on women's economic activity (Chapter 4) and on women's employment status (Chapter 5). There is an interrelationship between individual and household characteristics, women's economic activity and employment status, and the labour market. For instance, women may have characteristics which encourage them to work but may not be able to work because job opportunities are not available. The female labour market cannot be separated from the male labour market so the female labour market is analysed in comparison with the male labour market. This chapter has three sections. The first section discusses labour supply, and labour demand is discussed in the second section. The third and final section specifically discusses employment in three major industries, manufacturing, trade and services.

A. Labour supply

There has been a rapid increase in the labour supply, indicated by the labour force, which consists of people aged 10 years and over who are working and seeking jobs in urban Kalimantan. Table 3.1 shows that the labour force in 1980 was around 400,000. Ten years later, it had more than doubled to almost 900,000. In the same period, job seekers increased around fivefold, from 11,367 to 57,617. Annual growth of the labour force between 1980 and 1990 was 7.9 per cent and the growth in the number of workers (7.5 per cent) was less than half the rate of growth of job seekers (16.2 per cent).

Table 3.1

The labour force by sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Province	Labour force						Annual growth rate (%)		
	1980[a]			1990[b]			1980/1990		
	Working	Seeking jobs	Labour force	Working	Seeking jobs	Labour force	Working	Seeking jobs	Labour force
Women									
West Kalimantan	18,869	928	19,797	53,969	6,482	60,451	10.5	19.4	11.2
Central Kalimantan	6,640	298	6,938	25,351	1,660	27,011	13.4	17.2	13.6
South Kalimantan	27,333	1,137	28,470	71,565	5,321	76,886	9.6	15.4	9.9
East Kalimantan	23,302	708	24,010	74,936	7,348	82,284	11.7	23.4	12.3
Total	**76,144**	**3,071**	**79,215**	**225,821**	**20,811**	**246,632**	**10.9**	**19.1**	**11.4**
Men									
West Kalimantan	89,610	2,832	92,442	148,200	8,616	156,816	5.0	11.1	5.3
Central Kalimantan	21,538	295	21,833	57,092	2,162	59,254	9.7	19.9	10.0
South Kalimantan	96,336	2,595	98,931	160,453	9,775	170,228	5.1	13.3	5.4
East Kalimantan	104,542	2,574	107,116	229,846	16,253	246,099	7.9	18.4	8.3
Total	**312,026**	**8,296**	**320,322**	**595,591**	**36,806**	**632,397**	**6.5**	**14.9**	**6.8**
Women+men									
West Kalimantan	108,479	3,760	112,239	202,169	15,098	217,267	6.2	13.9	6.6
Central Kalimantan	28,178	593	28,771	82,443	3,822	86,265	10.7	18.6	11.0
South Kalimantan	123,669	3,732	127,401	232,018	15,096	247,114	6.3	14.0	6.6
East Kalimantan	127,844	3,282	131,126	304,782	23,601	328,383	8.7	19.7	9.2
Total	**388,170**	**11,367**	**399,537**	**821,412**	**57,617**	**879,029**	**7.5**	**16.2**	**7.9**

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d

The rapid growth of the labour force, workers and job seekers in Central and East Kalimantan was higher than in South and West Kalimantan. The rapid growth of the labour force in urban Kalimantan demographically is the result of high population growth due to high fertility in the past, migration, and reclassification of areas from rural to urban.

The growth of the labour force, workers and job seekers among women was higher than among men (Table 3.1). This contributed to the rapid increase in female compared to male labour force participation, although female labour force participation remained much lower than male labour force participation. The female labour force participation was at most 21 per cent in 1980 and at least 25 per cent in 1990 while male labour force participation was at most 61 per cent in 1980 and at least 62 per cent in 1990. The increase in female labour force participation occurred in almost all age groups (Table 3.2). Female labour force participation increased by more than half for those with incomplete and completed primary education in West and East Kalimantan, and those with incomplete and completed primary and junior high school education in Central and South Kalimantan (Table 3.3). The rapid increase of female labour force participation among those with low education may indicate an increasingly monetised economy and increasing demand for female labour with a low level of education.

The patterns of female and male labour force participation by age groups are similar. Generally, the labour force participation in the prime working ages (20-54) was higher than for the younger and the older age groups (Table 3.2). This is a normal pattern because people in the younger age groups are most likely to be at school, while those in the older age groups are most likely to be not working for various reasons such as ageing and retirement. The high female labour force participation rate at the prime working ages indicates that childrearing is not an obstacle to women working.

Table 3.2

Labour force participation rate by age group and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Age Group	Labour force participation rate (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]
Women								
10-14	2	3	2	3	2	4	3	3
15-19	11	20	11	14	11	19	12	18
20-24	20	38	20	32	19	34	19	37
25-29	19	36	19	43	22	36	18	33
30-34	19	36	19	45	22	38	18	32
35-39	16	33	16	49	28	40	20	31
40-44	18	34	18	51	30	40	21	31
45-49	20	34	20	48	31	40	21	34
50-54	18	27	18	43	31	35	19	31
55-59	10	19	10	33	19	31	17	23
60-64	4	9	4	29	23	28	15	15
65+	6	6	6	15	14	13	14	11
Total	14	25	21	30	18	28	15	25
Men								
10-14	3	5	3	4	3	4	2	4
15-19	28	27	28	21	27	24	21	27
20-24	71	68	71	65	67	64	66	77
25-29	93	91	93	91	92	88	86	95
30-34	96	97	96	98	96	96	92	97
35-39	96	97	96	98	97	97	94	98
40-44	96	97	96	99	96	97	92	97
45-49	92	96	92	96	93	93	88	94
50-54	86	91	86	92	86	89	80	88
55-59	78	76	78	75	72	77	63	76
60-64	59	56	59	68	69	63	52	60
65+	35	35	35	47	39	46	39	38
Total	60	63	61	62	61	62	59	68

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

The importance of educational attainment especially for women may lead to the different patterns of female and male labour force participation by educational attainment. Male labour force participation does not differ much by levels of education, while female labour force participation differs greatly, especially between the level of at least senior high school education and the lower levels of education. This may confirm the fact that men are most likely to be the primary breadwinners; they are most likely to work regardless of their levels of education while women are more likely to work if they have a high level of education, if they are poor, or if there are desired job opportunities available.

Female labour force participation by levels of education has a J-shaped pattern; the highest labour force participation rate is at the level of at least senior high school education followed by no schooling and other levels of education (Table 3.3). The female labour force participation at the level of at least senior high school education ranged from 40 per cent to 53 per cent in 1980 and 48 per cent to 54 per cent in 1990, followed by no schooling which ranged from 14 per cent to 39 per cent in 1980 and from 21 per cent to 37 per cent in 1990. The female labour force participation rates were much the same at the levels of incomplete and completed primary and junior high school education.

Table 3.3

Labour force participation rate by highest educational attainment and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Highest educational attainment	Labour force participation rate (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]
Women								
No schooling	14	21	39	37	28	31	20	26
Incomplete primary school	9	20	12	23	14	23	11	19
Complete primary school	11	18	12	23	12	24	10	24
Junior High School	13	18	10	18	13	20	13	17
Senior High School or higher	49	54	53	54	46	48	40	49
Total	14	25	21	30	18	28	15	25
Men								
No schooling	74	73	90	86	70	66	60	71
Incomplete primary school	52	54	40	46	51	50	44	47
Complete primary school	56	57	55	58	65	62	57	62
Junior High School	53	51	49	48	58	52	59	62
Senior High School or higher	85	83	81	83	78	80	84	90
Total	60	63	61	62	61	62	59	68

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

The increase in labour force participation was not followed by sufficient labour demand which has led to unemployment. The female unemployment rate was higher than the male unemployment rate and the increase in the female employment rate was more rapid than in the male employment rate. The female unemployment rate was at most 5 per cent in 1980 and at least 6 per cent in 1990 while the male unemployment rate was at most 3 per cent in 1980 and at least 4 per cent in 1990. A rapid increase in the female unemployment rate occurred, especially among age groups 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29 (Table 3.4) and among those who had at least senior high school education (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4

Unemployment rate by age group and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Age groups	Unemployment rate (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
Women								
10-14	13	16	0	21	9	18	9	19
15-19	12	18	9	16	6	17	6	21
20-24	7	26	9	19	6	15	6	18
25-29	3	9	3	4	2	6	2	7
30-34	2	3	3	1	1	3	1	2
35-39	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
40-44	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0
45-49	0	1	7	1	0	1	0	1
50-54	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
55-59	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
65+	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	5
Total	5	11	4	6	3	7	2	9
Men								
10-14	16	23	27	11	9	35	9	22
15-19	9	17	2	13	6	15	6	23
20-24	6	15	4	14	5	13	5	18
25-29	2	6	0	3	3	4	3	6
30-34	2	2	0	1	1	3	1	3
35-39	2	1	0	1	1	2	1	1
40-44	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	2
45-49	2	1	3	1	2	3	2	1
50-54	1	2	0	1	3	3	3	1
55-59	1	2	0	1	1	3	1	1
60-64	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	2
65+	0	3	0	8	1	8	1	5
Total	3	5	1	4	2	6	2	7

Source: a) Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b) Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

Female and male unemployment rates in 1990 had similar patterns. High unemployment rates were likely to occur at age groups 10-14, 15-19 and 20-24 and at the levels of junior and at least senior high school education. The difference in the unemployment rate at age groups 10-14, 15-19 and 20-24 between women and men was not consistent; the female unemployment rate was not necessarily higher than the male unemployment rate. However, the female unemployment rates for all levels of education were mostly higher than the male unemployment rate. The unemployment rate at the level of senior high school education or higher in 1990 among women (at least 11 per cent) was much higher than among men (at least 5 per cent) (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5

Unemployment rate by highest educational attainment and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

Highest educational attainment	Unemployment rate (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
Women								
No schooling	3	2	1	3	1	1	1	3
Incomplete primary school	2	6	8	3	5	3	2	4
Complete primary school	6	6	2	2	4	6	3	7
Junior High School	12	14	7	3	6	9	6	12
Senior High School or higher	6	17	6	11	7	11	4	14
Total	5	11	4	6	3	7	2	9
Men								
No schooling	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	5
Incomplete primary school	3	4	3	2	2	6	2	4
Complete primary school	4	5	1	2	4	5	3	5
Junior High School	3	6	1	4	3	5	2	7
Senior High School or higher	4	8	2	5	1	7	2	9
Total	3	5	1	4	2	6	3	7

Source: a) Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b) Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

B. Labour Demand

1. Industry

Female employment was generally concentrated in three industries, trade, services and manufacturing (Table 3.6). Although the pattern of change in the proportion of female employment in these industries varied between provinces, the total proportion of female employment in these industries tended to increase from at least 80 per cent in 1980 to at least 88 per cent in 1990. Compared to female employment, the concentration of male employment in trade, services and manufacturing was lower and tended to decrease from at most 75 per cent in 1980 to at most 69 per cent in 1990; male employment was more distributed to other industries such as agriculture, construction and transportation.

The concentration of female and male employment in trade and services was much higher than in manufacturing. In 1990, the proportion of employment in trade was at least 31 per cent for women and 17 per cent for men, while in services it was at least 35 per cent for women and 23 per cent for men. In the same year, the proportion of employment in manufacturing was at most 17 per cent for women and 14 per cent for men. The data also reveal that the differences between the proportions of female and male employment in trade and services tended to be greater than in manufacturing. The proportion of female employment in trade, services and manufacturing was higher than that of male employment except in Central Kalimantan, where the proportion of female employment in manufacturing was slightly lower than that of male employment.

Table 3.6 show that the pattern of female employment in trade and services is less consistent than that of male employment. The proportion of male employment in all provinces and of female employment in West Kalimantan in services was higher than in trade. However, the proportion of female employment in services was lower than in trade in South Kalimantan, while the proportions of female employment in services and trade in Central and East Kalimantan were not greatly different.

Table 3.6

Employment by main industries and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
Main industries	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]
Women								
Agriculture	9	8	18	10	7	4	11	6
Mining	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
Manufacturing	11	13	4	8	9	17	7	16
Electricity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Trade	27	31	36	40	46	42	30	36
Transport	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Financing	2	2	1	1	2	1	4	2
Community service	48	45	41	41	36	35	43	36
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100[a1]	100[a1]	100[a1]	100	100[a1]	100[a1]	100[a1]	100
N[b1]	18,779	52,226	6,625	24,647	27,293	69,507	23,153	73,114
Men								
Agriculture	10	9	11	13	6	6	7	10
Mining	1	1	1	2	1	2	5	7
Manufacturing	11	9	6	10	12	13	8	14
Electricity	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Construction	8	12	8	9	6	7	9	11
Trade	26	22	7	17	26	25	19	21
Transport	11	11	12	9	10	13	11	11
Financing	2	3	1	2	3	2	7	2
Community service	31	32	54	37	37	31	32	23
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100[a1]	100[a1]	100	100[a1]	100
N[b1]	89,540	147,339	21,484	56,735	96,159	158,302	104,487	226,714

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

Note : a1 The figure is not exactly 100 due to rounding errors
b1 Excluding 'not stated'

Although the proportion of female employment in manufacturing is lower than in trade and services, the role of manufacturing is increasingly important. The rapid growth of female employment in manufacturing may result from the ban on log exports in 1980 which was followed by the establishment of wood processing companies such as for plywood (Pangestu, 1989:168). The proportion of female employment in manufacturing from 1980 to 1990 in all the provinces increased. The smallest increase was in West Kalimantan, from 11 per cent in 1980 to 13 per cent in 1990, while the increase in the other provinces was more or less twofold. In Central Kalimantan, the role of manufacturing in female employment is increasingly important compared to the role of agriculture. From 1980 to 1990, the proportion of female employment in manufacturing increased rapidly while in agriculture it decreased. In 1980, the proportion of female employment in manufacturing (6 per cent) was only one third of the proportion of female employment in agriculture (18 per cent); in 1990 the proportion of female employment in manufacturing (8 per cent) was slightly lower than that in agriculture (10 per cent).

The range of female employment between provinces in trade and services tended to decrease while in manufacturing it tended to increase. The proportion of female employment ranged from 27 per cent to 46 per cent in 1980 and from 31 per cent to 42 per cent in 1990 in trade, and from 36 per cent to 48 per cent in 1980 and 35 per cent to 45 per cent in 1990 in services compared to from 4 per cent to 11 per cent in 1980 and 8 per cent to 17 per cent in 1990 in manufacturing. Recent development in manufacturing, which was based mainly on natural resources, especially wood, might lead to the greater differences in the proportion of female employment in manufacturing between provinces. The province which is richer in natural resources has a greater ability to attract investors in manufacturing meaning that there is an increase in job opportunities in this province.

Despite only slight changes in the proportions of female employment in trade and services compared to that of female employment in manufacturing, the annual growth of female employment in these three industries between 1980 and 1990 was high (above 8 per cent) (Table 3.7). The growth of female employment in each of the major industries was much higher than that of male employment except in

Central Kalimantan in trade where the position was reversed. The growth of female employment was also high in the other industries which employed a small proportion of women, such as transport and finance (mostly above 4 per cent). This indicates that the demand for female labour is not only limited to the three major industries. Rapid development in infrastructure might increase the demand for female labour. For example, tollroads might increase the demand for female labour in administration and in ticketing. The 1988 October package in finance which created many new banks also may have increased the demand since the banking sector emphasises customer services which may be regarded as suitable employment for women.

Table 3.7

Employment Growth by main industries and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980-1990

	Annual employment growth (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
Main industries	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Agriculture	8.9	4.5	7.4	10.8	4.3	5.0	6.1	10.6
Manufacturing	11.6	3.7	19.9	15.6	15.9	5.9	19.1	13.0
Trade	11.4	3.5	14.1	18.2	8.4	4.9	13.4	8.7
Transport	10.5	4.5	13.0	7.0	13.6	7.6	3.9	7.2
Financing	10.9	9.2	13.1	15.4	4.4	2.3	2.5	-4.0
Community service	9.5	5.1	13.1	6.1	9.0	3.2	9.8	4.4

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d, 1992a, b, c, d
Note : The growth rates of female employment in Mining, Electricity, Construction and Others was either 0 or ~ and they are not included in the Table.

2. Occupation and employment status

Female employment tends to concentrate in five occupations, professional, clerical, sales, services and production, while male employment tends to concentrate in only three: clerical, sales and production (Table 3.8). Both in 1980 and 1990, the proportion of female and male employment in each of the major occupations was mostly 10 per cent and above. In all provinces, the highest proportion of female employment was in sales, at least 28 per cent in 1980 and at least 30 per cent in

1990, while the proportions of female employment in the other major occupations were not greatly different. The highest proportion of male employment was in production, followed by sales and clerical. From 1980 to 1990, the proportions of female and male employment in most of the major occupations in most of the provinces changed only slightly.

Table 3.8 shows that the proportion of female employment was higher than male employment in professional, sales and services occupations, and lower than male employment in clerical and production occupations. The higher proportion of women than men in professional employment may be contributed to mainly by teachers and paramedics. The increase in government revenue from oil and gas enabled the government to invest largely in physical infrastructure and human resources development, such as education and health, which require recruitment of a wide range of skilled workers such as teachers and paramedics (Rohdewohld, 1995:98). This increased the number of civil servants at the national level from 2 million in 1980 to 3.53 million in 1988 (Alexander and Booth, 1992:293). Since teachers and paramedics are most likely to be under the Departments of Education and Culture and Health respectively, not surprisingly, up to 1990, women comprised 42 per cent of total employees at the Department of Education and Culture and 51 per cent of total employees at the Department of Health. The proportions of women in these two departments were much higher than in the other departments where the proportions ranged from 1 per cent to 33 per cent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992f).

Table 3.8

Employment by main occupations and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
Main occupations	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]
Women								
Professional	16	15	16	17	13	13	12	12
Managerial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical	10	14	12	16	6	10	14	13
Sales	28	30	37	39	46	41	30	34
Services	15	16	10	8	13	12	21	18
Agricultural workers	9	8	18	10	7	4	11	6
Production workers	22	15	4	10	14	19	12	17
Others	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100[a1]	100[a1]	100[a1]	100	100[a1]	100[a1]	100	100
N[b1]	18,731	52,255	6,571	24,657	27,080	69,566	23,076	73,570
Men								
Professional	4	5	8	7	5	6	5	5
Managerial	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
Clerical	12	18	21	24	10	17	16	16
Sales	25	22	7	17	27	25	19	19
Services	8	5	6	4	9	5	10	6
Agricultural workers	10	9	12	12	6	6	7	9
Production workers	39	40	29	36	41	42	38	44
Others	3	0	17	0	3	0	4	0
Total	100[a1]	100	100	100[a1]	100	100[a1]	100	100
N[b1]	89,230	147,417	21,421	56,782	96,158	158,535	104,287	228,664

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d

Note : a1 The figure is not exactly 100 due to rounding errors
b1 Excluding 'not stated'

Women are more likely than men to work in the informal sector, as indicated by the employment statuses of self employed and family workers. Table 3.9 shows that the proportion of women in the informal sector ranged from 54 per cent to 69 per cent in 1980 and from 40 per cent to 55 per cent in 1990; the proportion of male employment ranged from 37 per cent to 52 per cent in 1980 and from 33 per cent to 42 per cent in 1990. From 1980 to 1990, the proportion of female and male employment in the informal sector tended to decrease except for male employment in Central Kalimantan. In 1980, South Kalimantan had the highest proportion of both female (69 per cent) and male employment (52 per cent) in the informal sector. In 1990, the highest proportion of female employment in the informal sector was in Central Kalimantan (55 per cent). In the same period, the proportions of male employment in Central Kalimantan (41 per cent) was similar to that of in South Kalimantan (40 per cent) and these proportions were higher than those in West Kalimantan (34 per cent) and East Kalimantan (33 per cent).

Table 3.9

Employment status by sex, urban Kalimantan, 1980 and 1990

	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
Employment Status	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]	1980[a]	1990[b]
Women								
Self employed	39	24	42	36	55	39	41	26
Family worker	18	18	21	19	14	1	13	16
Employer	2	2	0	1	1	46	2	1
Employee	41	56	37	44	30	14	44	57
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a1]	18,888	53,811	6,640	25,266	27,384	71,378	23,264	73,735
Men								
Self employed	41	29	35	36	46	38	34	29
Family worker	5	5	2	5	6	4	3	4
Employer	5	3	1	3	3	2	3	2
Employee	49	63	62	56	45	56	60	65
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a1]	89,809	148,092	21,511	56,938	96,054	160,202	104,548	229,003

Source: a Central Bureau of Statistics 1983a, b, c, d
b Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a1 Excluding 'not stated'

To further clarify the pattern of female employment, the three major industries in female employment are discussed further in the following sections, which investigate the education and employment status of women and men in the major industries.

3. Trade

Female and male employment in trade is mainly in the informal sector, and women are more likely to work in the informal sector of trade than men. Table 3.10 reveals that in all provinces the proportion of women in the informal sector (at least 79 per cent) was higher than that of men (at least 70 per cent). The proportion of women and men in the informal sector of trade in Central and South Kalimantan was higher than in West and East Kalimantan.

Table 3. 10

Employment status in trade by sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Employment status	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Self employed	48	58	68	76	69	72	54	63
Family worker	31	12	25	11	21	9	29	9
Employer	2	5	1	3	1	3	1	3
Employee	19	25	6	10	9	16	16	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	16,037	32,688	9,756	9,773	29,017	40,123	26,511	46,473

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

Women and men who work in trade mostly have a low level of education, primary school or less (Table 3.11). In all provinces, in trade, the proportion of women who had completed primary education or less was higher than that of men. This confirms the fact that women are more concentrated in informal trade compared to men. West Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of women (68 per cent) and East Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of men (55 per cent) with completed primary school education or less.

Table 3.11

Employment in trade by highest educational attainment and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Highest educational attainment	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
No schooling	19	7	13	4	13	3	12	4
Incomplete primary school	23	27	28	19	32	22	29	19
Complete primary school	26	28	34	38	31	34	30	32
Junior high school	17	17	14	18	13	17	13	19
Senior high school or higher	16	20	11	21	11	24	16	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	16,052	27,910	9,767	9,773	29,029	40,148	26,561	46,523

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

4. Services

Services include a variety of activities such as general administration and defence, health and similar services, social services and public relations, tourist services and culture, personal and household services and international agencies (Manning, 1983:425). The nature of most of the sub-industries included in services indicates that the industries are more likely to be in the formal sector, which includes employers and employees, than the informal sector. This is supported by the data. The largest proportion of women and men in services was in the formal sector and the proportions of women and men were not greatly different. South Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of women (77 per cent) and men (79 per cent) in formal services (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12

Employment status in services by sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Employment status	Employment(%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Self employed	9	12	12	14	20	19	9	12
Family workers	4	1	2	1	3	2	3	2
Employer	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Employee	85	85	85	84	76	78	87	85
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	23,438	46,708	10,072	21,134	24,022	48,751	26,230	52,348

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

Women and men in the services sector tended to have a high level of education, at least senior high school education, and the proportion of women and men who had at least senior high school education in services was not greatly different (Table 3.13). The highest proportion of women (75 per cent) and men (71 per cent) in the services who had at least senior high school education was in Central Kalimantan; the lowest proportion of women was in East Kalimantan (54 per cent) and of men was in West and South Kalimantan (56 per cent respectively). The presence of both women and men who have education lower than senior high school indicates that the services include a wide range of economic activities which require a wide range of education, from no schooling up to senior high school education or higher.

Table 3.13

Employment in services by highest educational attainment and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Highest educational attainment	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
No schooling	8	3	3	2	6	1	6	1
Incomplete primary school	12	11	5	5	12	10	13	7
Complete primary school	13	16	8	10	14	19	17	15
Junior high school	10	14	9	12	8	14	10	16
Senior high school or higher	57	56	75	71	60	56	54	61
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	23,453	46,739	10,102	21,226	24,048	48,826	26,334	52,476

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

The high proportion of women and men with a high level of education in services is probably due to employment in the government sector, such as teachers, paramedics and clerks. In 1990, female civil servants in urban plus rural West (19,575), Central (14,727), South (23,097) and East Kalimantan (15,047) were 30 per cent, 33 per cent, 32 per cent and 29 per cent of total civil servants in each province respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992f). There are fewer job opportunities in the formal private sector because the development of the private sector in Kalimantan lags behind that of Java. This indicates that people who have a high level of education are highly dependent on job opportunities in the government sector. The highest proportion of women and men with at least senior high school education is in Central Kalimantan, indicating that economic development in this province is behind that in the other provinces (see Chapter 2); therefore, it has relatively the greatest dependency on government job opportunities.

5. Manufacturing

The role of the formal sector in female and male employment in manufacturing is very important. East Kalimantan had the highest proportion of women (94 per cent) and men (91 per cent) in the formal sector of manufacturing; the lowest proportion of the women was in Central Kalimantan (74 per cent) and of men was in West Kalimantan (84 per cent) (Table 3.14). The proportion of women in the formal sector of manufacturing was lower than that of men except in East Kalimantan. The high proportion of women and men in the formal sector of manufacturing in East Kalimantan may be a consequence of the timber boom in this province which led to expansion of wood processing and related industries and induced a greater demand for female labour than in the other provinces.

Table 3. 14

Employment status in manufacturing by sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Employment status	Employment(%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Self employed	8	11	11	9	10	11	2	7
Family worker	13	5	15	5	10	3	4	2
Employer	2	2	0	3	1	2	0	1
Employee	77	82	74	83	79	84	94	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	6,567	13,642	1,887	5,670	11,588	20,610	11,660	32,215

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

The levels of education of women and men in manufacturing are varied. The proportion of women and men in East Kalimantan and men in Central Kalimantan who had completed primary education or less was less than 50 per cent, while the proportion of the women in Central Kalimantan and both women and men in West and South Kalimantan was more than 50 per cent (Table 3.15). The proportion of women who had completed primary education or less in all provinces was higher than that of men. This confirms the fact that women were more concentrated in low-skilled jobs in formal manufacturing compared to men. The production section of plywood companies tends to employ women in subsections which require gentleness and refinement such as face veneer and core veneer. For instance, one of the largest plywood companies in 1995 in Pontianak employed 79 women out of 89 employees in face veneer and 61 women out of 84 employees in core veneer (Source: the field study, 1995).

Table 3.15

Employment in manufacturing by highest educational attainment and sex, urban Kalimantan, 1990

Highest educational attainment	Employment (%)							
	West		Central		South		East	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
No schooling	19	8	16	3	4	2	4	1
Incomplete primary school	29	31	24	14	25	19	14	8
Complete primary school	28	25	32	29	34	32	30	21
Junior high school	9	14	19	19	18	17	19	21
Senior high school or higher	15	22	9	34	18	30	33	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N[a]	6,567	13,642	1,887	5,670	11,601	20,623	11,672	32,256

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1992a, b, c, d
Note : a Excluding 'not stated'

The data indicate that manufacturing in East Kalimantan employed women and men who had relatively high education compared with the other provinces, which might reflect the relative importance of the formal sector of manufacturing in providing alternative high-skilled jobs opportunities in East Kalimantan. Almost 50 per cent of men and 33 per cent of women who worked in manufacturing in East Kalimantan had at least senior high school education. Central Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of women (9 per cent) and West Kalimantan had the lowest proportion of men (22 per cent) who had at least senior high school education in manufacturing.

C. Conclusion

Like other parts of Indonesia, urban Kalimantan has had rapid growth in labour supply, which is not accompanied by sufficient growth in labour demand and leads to a high unemployment rate, especially among the young age groups, 10-14, 15-19 and 20-24, and among those who have at least senior high school education. The 1990 data indicate that women and men are concentrated in three major industries, trade, services and manufacturing; men are concentrated in five occupations, professional, sales, clerks, services and production, while women are concentrated in only three occupations, clerks, sales and services. Women are more likely to work in the informal sector than men.

Both women and men who have a high level of education are more likely to work in the formal than in the informal sector. The role of the government in creating job opportunities for people with at least senior high school education in urban Kalimantan was very important in the past. Women and men with a high level of education are concentrated in the services, especially women as professionals and men as clerks. The least developed province has greater dependency on the services, indicated by the greater likelihood of women and men with at least senior high school education being in the services in Central Kalimantan than in the other provinces. The timber boom in East Kalimantan has provided an alternative for those with a high level of education to work in high-skilled jobs in manufacturing rather than in the services.

However, job opportunities in the government sector cannot be expected any longer since the ability of the government to create jobs has declined. At the national level, the number of job opportunities in the public services during the sixth Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA) (1994/1995 - 1998/1999) was 50,000, which was only two thirds of the job opportunities in the fifth REPELITA (1989/1990 - 1994/1995) and one third of the job opportunities in the fourth REPELITA (1984/1985 - 1989/1990). This is different from the previous REPELITA. For instance, the number of job opportunities in the fourth REPELITA was 150,000 which was 51 per cent greater than those in the third REPELITA (1979/1980 - 1984/1985) (Sukamdi, 1996:219). The government has even started to implement a zero growth policy in the public sector since the fifth REPELITA under which the appointment of new public servants is mainly intended to replace those who have retired or to fulfil demand for certain specialised skills such as lecturers.

Job opportunities for those with a high level of education now depend more on the private sector. However, the formal sector of manufacturing, which is heavily dependent on wood products, may not create many more job opportunities even for labour with low education because the 1980 ban on log exports has now weakened. Kalimantan has not been as attractive as Java to private investors in the processing of natural resources because of the small population and the poor infrastructure. The limits to high-skilled job opportunities can be seen clearly among women, since the unemployment rate for educated women is much higher than the male unemployment rate. Men, who are required to be the primary breadwinners, are less likely to be unemployed because they are more likely than women to take whatever job is available, even if the job is not suitable to their education.

Although the share of the informal sector in female and male employment is decreasing, this sector is still important especially among those who have a low levels of education. Compared to services and manufacturing, employment in trade is dominated by the informal sector. Jobs in the informal sector which are mainly self-created are not always easy to create because of capital requirements. Those who are not able to create jobs in the informal sector may be forced to work in low-skilled jobs in manufacturing where they have only their labour to sell. Therefore,

the decline in the proportion of female and male employment in the informal sector is not always an indicator of beneficial development. The high unemployment rate among educated women, in the future, may create various economic activities in the informal sector as long as women are willing to be self employed and are able to afford the capital. The conditions of the labour market in urban Kalimantan will influence the relationship between women's household and individual characteristics and women's economic activity and employment status, which are discussed in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4

THE CORRELATES OF WOMEN'S WORK IN URBAN KALIMANTAN

The main purpose of this chapter is to analyse the correlates of women's work in urban Kalimantan. The 1992 National Social Economic Survey (SUSENAS) is used as source of data and the data are analysed utilising logistic regression. This chapter consists of four sections: the first reviews literature on factors related to women's work; the second discusses the 1992 SUSENAS, the variables and the method used in this chapter. The third section is an overview of the characteristics of individual women aged 15-64 selected as respondents and the fourth discusses the likelihood of working women having particular characteristics.

A. Factors related to women's work: a review of the literature

Women's work is dependent on many factors, such as macro-economic and household factors. Macro-economic factors include two broad categories: changing the organisation of production, which includes the growth of industrial and service sectors and the effect of changing technology in industry; and changing market conditions especially in product markets and the availability of male labour. Household factors may include fertility, domestic work, structure, income and decision making (Stichter, 1990:63). This literature review focuses on how women's work is influenced by household factors, which are directly and indirectly reflected by education, household socio-economic status, age, marital status and childrearing.

The importance of education in the increase of working women has been found in many studies (Blau, Behrman and Wolfe, 1988; Shields, 1987). The positive effect of education on women's work activity is mainly through three factors. First, education induces the desire of women to work either for psychological or

economic reasons. Second, the opportunity cost of not working increases since the level of productivity as an employee is higher than that as a housewife. Third, the probability of finding employment tends to be higher since education increases women's competitive position in the labour market (Shields, 1987:124).

The greatest net positive effect of education on women's work activity is at high levels of education while women's work activity at low levels of education tends to be due to factors such as poverty. The relationship between education and women's work activity in Indonesia and many other developing countries follows a J-shaped pattern; women with tertiary education are most likely to work, followed by those with no schooling and junior secondary school education (Jones, 1986:5). Work activity among women who have no schooling is often due to economic necessity (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:101; Jones, 1986:7).

The positive effect of education on increase in women's work activity depends on demography (age, marriage and fertility), economic structure (pattern of employment and occupational structure), socio- economic status of the family, and the attitude and beliefs of society towards the propriety of women working in particular jobs (Shields, 1987:122-123). In Africa and many other developing countries, women with high levels of education are more likely to work or continue working during marriage because of the effect of educational attainment on earnings in the modern sector. The high private rate of return for all levels of education and participation in the labour market enables educated women to enjoy the economic and social benefits derived from education (Shields, 1987: 124).

Not all women with high educational attainment are able to work; the slower growth of labour demand than education expansion may cause unemployment among such women. In such a situation, women from the better off families who have a high level of education prefer to stay home rather than working in low-status or low-paid jobs (Shields, 1987:124). These women may work at home which is considered as having higher status than working in the low-status jobs done by low-class women. In both urban and rural Indonesia, home-based jobs such as sewing and food production are more respected although such jobs do not require formal education (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:120). In Nigeria, upper-class women who can

afford servants refrain from working outside their homes in state or corporate business for fear of incurring a loss of status; some of them start their own businesses using their husbands' contacts to secure licenses, capital, office space and raw materials (Lazreq, 1990:192).

The relationship between education and women's work activity mentioned above cannot be separated from household socio-economic status. The relationship between household socio-economic status and women's work activity has two general patterns depending upon household socio-economic status itself and women's individual characteristics, such as education, and availability of jobs. In the first instance, the relationship is negative: the higher the socio-economic status of the household, the lower is the women's work activity. In the second instance, the relationship is curvilinear: women's work activity is higher among households of lower and higher socio-economic status than among households of medium socio-economic status. The patterns seem to indicate that working is not a choice for women in households of lower socio-economic status while it is for women in households of higher socio-economic status.

Women who are not working may contribute to the high social status of their household by doing what has been termed by Papanek (1979) 'status production work' which especially occurs among the better-off families. Status production work includes (1) work generated by the demands of income-earning activities by other household members such as provision of food at the workplace; (2) work which concerns the training of children such as supervising children's school work; (3) work including 'politics of status maintenance' which consists of activities explicitly linked to family status that require a woman's time, energy and organisational skills, such as information gathering, gift exchange systems and ritual performance; and (4) work which has a close link with family status and appropriate behaviour of women (Papanek, 1979:777-779).

Previous studies have found that the influence of age on women's work activity depends on factors related to the family life cycle such as marital status and childbearing (Durand, 1975). In a study of 84 countries, Durand (1975:38-44) found four different patterns of female labour force participation rates by age group. The

first pattern had a central peak or plateau where women continued working during their childbearing years. The second pattern had a late peak: women mainly started working after completing child-bearing. The third pattern had an early peak: women mainly worked when they were single and at an early stage of marriage or before childbearing and withdrew from the labour market steadily during and after it. The last pattern was the double peak where women were more likely to be working before and after childbearing. Female labour force participation by age group in urban Indonesia in 1990 has the central plateau pattern (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992h: 251), which indicates that women tended to continue working during the childbearing period. Age is also associated with education: women in the 10-14 age group are less likely to work than the older age groups because they are likely to be studying at primary or junior high school. The 1990 female labour force participation rate in the 10-14 age group in urban Indonesia (5 per cent) was the lowest among all age groups (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992h:251).

Studies in developing countries have found that married women are less likely to work than single and widowed or divorced women (Youssef, 1976:73; Jones, 1986:4). It is often argued that childrearing is an obstacle which prevents married women from working. For instance, Bukit and Bakir (1983:43) argued that the double peak pattern in female labour force participation rates in urban and rural Indonesia is due to childrearing, as in developed countries where women start working when they are single, stop working after marrying and having children, and work again when their children have grown up.

Stichter (1990:41-42) has contended that neo-classical economic theory has been used to explain the influence of number of children on women's work activity in developing countries. This theory, which has developed from experience in industrialised and Western societies, postulates that the greater the number and the lower the ages of children, the less likely are women to participate in economic activity. The assumption is less applicable in developing countries because of the prevalence of extended families in which grandmothers, older siblings, co-wives or other adults substitute for the mother in caring for the children (Stichter, 1990:43), and the availability of jobs which are compatible with childrearing (Standing, 1978:146).

The lower likelihood of working of married compared with unmarried women also is influenced by the quality of childrearing, which is not necessarily related to the amount of time for childrearing. A study in a village in Java found that middle-class women did not want servants from the lower classes to take care of their children because they might negatively influence their child's development (Hull and Raharjo, 1984:121). A similar finding among Malay women in Peninsular Malaysia indicated that women viewed childrearing as having higher value than contributing to family income (Mason and Palan, 1981:569). Factors other than childrearing, such as household socio- economic status and limited labour demand, may also contribute to the lesser likelihood of married than non-married women working.

It thus appears that women's work activity is influenced by interrelated factors which cannot be separated easily. Despite this, it is worthwhile to use statistical analysis which seeks to obtain the net effect of a particular characteristic on women's work activity while controlling for other characteristics, as long as the limitations of this type of analysis are taken into consideration when interpreting the results. Statistical analysis can therefore contribute to the development of theory as well as elucidating policy implications.

B. The 1992 SUSENAS, variables and method of analysis

The SUSENAS data were not originally collected for the purpose of the present study, therefore the selection of variables was restricted to those available. The selection was influenced by the identification of important variables in the literature dealing with women's work activity including age, marital status, education, number of children aged 0-4 years in the household, household expenditure, education of household head and employment status of household head.

The sample in this study is women aged 15-64 years although the 1992 SUSENAS defined the population aged 10 years and over as potentially economically active. A total of 5908 women aged 10 and over in urban Kalimantan were found in the SUSENAS, and 4661 were selected as respondents. Women aged 10-14 and 65 and

over, who were 16 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of total women who were potentially economically active, were not selected as respondents because fewer than 2 per cent of each group were working. Women who were household heads, 6 per cent of the total women who were potentially economically active, were also not selected as respondents because their special characteristics would have necessitated separate analysis, but their numbers were small. Furthermore, the primary interest of this study is women who are household members rather than household heads.

Studying women's work activity using the 1992 SUSENAS data proves advantageous. The first advantage is that the SUSENAS has better quality data than the Census since the SUSENAS employs professional interviewers (*mantri statistik*) who are employees of the Central Bureau of Statistics instead of the non-professional interviewers, such as teachers, used in the Census (see D2, Chapter 1). The second advantage is that the SUSENAS has data on household expenditure and the category of 'government employee' in employment status which are not available in the Census. Household expenditure is used as a proxy for household income since data on household income are not available. The category of 'government employee' in employment status is important for individual-level analysis since the data at the macro level in urban Kalimantan indicate the important role of the government sector in employment, especially for those with high educational attainment (see Chapter 3).

To obtain a more meaningful analysis and a sufficient number of cases in each cell, the segmenting of variables into broad categories cannot be avoided. For instance, age groups have been classified into five (15-24, 25-34, 35-44,45-54 and 55-64) and household expenditure has been classified into three broad groups (less than Rp. 200,000, Rp 200,000-299,999 and Rp 300,000 or greater).

'Education' refers to the highest educational attainment of those who passed the highest level of a particular school and were awarded a certificate or diploma. Indonesia has four levels of education: six years' primary education, three years' lower secondary education or junior high school, three years' higher secondary education or senior high school, and tertiary education. Education of respondent is

classified into five groups: no schooling, incomplete primary school, completed primary school, junior high school and senior high school or higher. Education of household head is classified into three groups: completed primary school or less, junior high school and senior high school or higher.

Employment status of household head is classified into four categories: not working, self- employed, government employee and private employee. Since the number of family workers and employers was very small, with less than one per cent of the total working household heads in 1992, these two categories were grouped into self- employed and employees respectively, based on similarity in characteristics. Family workers and the self employed are usually defined as informal sector workers while employers and employees are usually defined as formal sector workers.

Household variables, such as household expenditure and number of children aged 0-4 years in the household, have limitations which may to some extent influence the results. Household expenditure which is used as a proxy for household income may include the income of the respondents, therefore women's work activity influences household expenditure rather than vice versa. Data on household expenditure tend to underestimate the actual expenditure. The national data indicated that, compared to Modul-SUSENAS, the Core-SUSENAS underestimated expenditure by about 5 per cent for food and 15 per cent for non-food expenditures. This was due mainly to two reasons. First: memory lapse is very likely to occur on prepared foods, which are consumed by household members outside the house such as at work or at school. This phenomenon is found across socio-economic strata. Second: middle and high class respondents tend to underestimate their expenditure on non-food luxuries deliberately. Perhaps they feel uneasy about admitting their high expenditure because they are worried about the possibility of paying tax. Memory lapse is very likely to occur, and past expenditure is very likely to be estimated on the basis of current price, which tends to be higher than the purchase price because of inflation. Household expenditure consists of expenditure on food which has already been consumed and non-food expenditure. Food consumption is estimated using a consumption approach with a time reference of a week or seven consecutive days ending one day before the survey. Non-food consumption is estimated using a delivery approach with time references of a month and a year ending one day before the survey.

The number of children aged 0-4 years in the household has been derived from a variable related to household composition meaning that this variable attaches to every household member. A problem will occur if there is more than one woman as a respondent in the household as the data do not allow the mother of the children to

be identified. However, the 1992 SUSENAS data indicate that the children were more likely to be the respondents' own children since the respondents were likely not to live in a multi-generation family. This is indicated by the highest proportion of household members (86 per cent) who were household head, spouse and children. Also, the majority of respondents who were single were living in households without children aged 0-4 years (81 per cent).

Multivariate analysis - logistic regression - is utilised in this chapter. The purpose of the multivariate analysis is to estimate the likelihood of working among women with various characteristics. The dependent variable is dichotomous, 'working' or 'not working'. 'Not working' includes those whose main activity is studying, doing housework and other activities. The independent variables are age, marital status, education, number of persons aged 0-4 years in the household, household expenditure, education of household head and employment status of household head; the last three variables are used as proxies for household socio-economic status. Because of the small sample size, the analysis of women's work activity based on the 1992 SUSENAS data refers to all urban areas of Kalimantan without classifying them by province.

C. Characteristics of the women in the study

Table 4.1 shows the frequency distribution of women in the study by their characteristics. The women were most likely to be young as indicated by the proportion who were in the age groups 15-24 (37 per cent) and 25-34 (27 per cent). Around 61 per cent of the women were married compared to 33 per cent who were single and 6 per cent who were widowed or divorced. In education, the women had equal proportions who had completed senior high school (25 per cent) and completed primary school (25 per cent); the proportion of the women with no schooling was the lowest (12 per cent).

Table 4.1

Respondents according to background characteristics and main activity, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Working	Not working	Total
	%	%	%
N	1,116	3,545	4661
Age (years)			
15-24	28	40	37
25-34	35	24	27
35-44	22	15	18
45-54	12	10	10
55-64	3	10	8
Total	100	100	100
Marital status			
Married	65	60	61
Single	30	33	33
Divorced/Widowed	5	7	6
Total	100	100	100
Respondent's education			
No schooling	8	20	12
Incomplete primary school	17	14	18
Completed primary school	22	18	25
Junior high school	10	25	20
Senior high school or higher	43	23	25
Total	100	100	100
Persons aged 0-4 years in household			
0	68	65	65
1	26	27	27
2 or more	6	9	8
Total	100	100	100
Household expenditure (*Rupiah*)			
< 200,000	35	33	33
200,000-299,999	28	31	30
300,000 or higher	37	37	37
Total	100	100	100
Household head's education			
Completed primary school or less	52	51	51
Junior high school	11	15	14
Senior high school or higher	37	34	35
Total	100	100	100
Household head's employment status			
Not working	15	12	13
Self employed	42	41	41
Private employee	20	26	25
Government employee	23	22	22
Total	100	100	100

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape

The women were mostly living without children aged 0-4 years in the household (65 per cent). This proportion was more than twice that of the women with one child aged 0-4 years in the household (27 per cent), and almost nine times the proportion of those with two or more children aged 0-4 years in the household (8 per cent). The women were distributed fairly evenly according to household expenditure: less than Rp. 200,000 (33 per cent), Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,999 (30 per cent) and Rp. 300,000 or higher (37 per cent).

The selected women mainly lived in households headed by people who had completed primary education or less, and who were self employed. Around 51 per cent of the household heads had completed primary school education or less compared to 35 per cent who had completed senior high school education or higher and 14 per cent who had junior high school education. The largest proportion of household heads were self-employed (41 per cent), followed by those who were private employees (25 per cent), government employees (22 per cent) and not working (13 per cent).

Of the total respondents, 26 per cent were currently working. These women were mostly young, with more than three quarters in the age groups 15-24 (28 per cent), 25-34 (35 per cent) and 35-44 (22 per cent). The proportion of the working women who were married (65 per cent) was more than twice that of those who were single (30 per cent); only 5 per cent of the women were divorced or widowed. Women who were working mostly had at least senior high school education (43 per cent). There was only a slight difference between the proportions of women who had incomplete primary education (17 per cent) and complete primary education (22 per cent), and between those who had junior high school education (10 per cent) and no schooling (8 per cent).

The women who had working as their main activity were mostly without children aged 0-4 years in the household (68 per cent). The household expenditure of the women was evenly distributed between expenditure of less than Rp. 200,000 (35 per cent), Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,000 (28 per cent) and Rp. 300,000 (37 per cent). The heads of the household with working women mostly had completed primary

school education or less (52 per cent), followed by senior high school education (37 per cent) and junior high school education (11 per cent). Among the women who had working as their main activity, the highest proportion had household heads who were self employed (52 per cent) while the proportions of household heads who were government employees (23 per cent), private employees (20 per cent) and not working (15 per cent) were not greatly different.

Except for age and education, the patterns of the frequency distributions of the total respondents and the respondents who were working are similar. This indicates that the clearest differences between the women who were working and not working are in age and education. The highest proportion of the respondents who were not working was in the 15-24 age group (40 per cent) while the highest proportion of the respondents who were working was in the 25-34 age group (35 per cent). The proportions of the respondents with no schooling (20 per cent), junior high school (25 per cent) and senior high school or higher education (23 per cent) who were not working were not greatly different while the highest proportion of the respondents who were working was among those with senior high school education (43 per cent).

D. The correlates of women's work

Table 4.2 presents the results of the logistic regression on the likelihood of women working, when the women who were currently not working are set to zero and the women who were currently working are coded as one. All independent variables which are entered into the model of the logistic regression have significant influence on the likelihood of women working. The largest category in every independent variable is used as the reference category. The reference categories are the youngest age group, 15-24; married for marital status; the highest level of education, senior high school education or higher; households without any children aged 0-4; the highest group of monthly household expenditure, Rp. 300,000 or higher; household heads who were self employed; and household heads who had the lowest education, completed primary school or less. The likelihood of women

working in a particular category of a variable is in comparison with a reference category for the same variable.

Simultaneously controlling for other characteristics, the women who were most likely to work were those who had senior high school or higher education, who were in the lowest group of household expenditure (less than Rp. 200,000); whose household heads had completed primary education or less, whose household heads were self employed, government employees and not working; who were in the 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 age groups; who were divorced or widowed; and who had one child aged 0-4 in the household.

Among all levels of educational attainment, senior high school education or higher has the greatest effect on the likelihood of women working. The women who had no schooling and junior high school education were 79 per cent less likely to work than those who had at least senior high school education. The women who had incomplete primary education and completed primary education were 72 per cent and 68 per cent respectively less likely to work than those who had at least senior high school education. The finding confirms the positive effect of high educational attainment on women's work activity.

Household socio-economic status, indicated by household expenditure and educational attainment and employment status of household heads, has a significant association with the likelihood of women working but the association is not strong. The patterns of the likelihood of women working by household expenditure and educational attainment of household heads are similar; the smaller the household expenditure and the lower the educational attainment of the household head, the greater the likelihood of women working. The women who were in the lowest group of household expenditure, Rp. 200,000 or less, were 1.3 times more likely to work than those who had household expenditure Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,999 and Rp. 300,000 or higher; the likelihood of women working in the two latter groups of household expenditure was not significantly different. The women whose household heads had junior high school and at least senior high school education were 38 per cent and 28 per cent less likely to work respectively than those whose household heads had primary education or less.

Table 4.2

Odds ratios of women's work and their correlates, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Coefficients of X	S.E	Odds Ratio
Age			
15-24	0.00	-	1.00
25-34	0.90	0.12	2.46[a]
35-44	1.09	0.14	2.98[a]
45-54	0.90	0.16	2.45[a]
55-64	- 0.26	0.24	0.76
Marital status			
Married	0.00	-	1.00
Single	0.31	0.12	1.36[b]
Divorced/widowed	0.53	0.19	1.70[a]
Respondent's education			
No schooling	- 1.57	0.17	0.21[a]
Incomplete primary school	- 1.29	0.13	0.28[a]
Completed primary school	- 1.13	0.11	0.32[a]
Junior high school	- 1.56	0.12	0.21[a]
Senior high school or higher	0.00	-	1.00
Persons aged 0-4 years in household			
0	0.00	-	1.00
1	0.41	0.15	1.50[b]
2 or more	0.25	0.16	1.29
Household expenditure (Rupiah)			
< 200,000	0.27	-	1.31[b]
200,000-299,999	- 0.02	0.09	0.98
300,000 or higher	0.00	0.09	1.00
Household head's education			
Completed primary school or less	0.00	-	1.00
Junior high school	- 0.48	0.12	0.62[a]
Senior high school or higher	- 0.33	0.11	0.72[a]
Household head's employment status			
Self-employed	0.00	-	1.00
Private employee	- 0.34	0.10	0.71[a]
Government employee	- 0.24	0.11	0.79[b]
Not working	0.01	0.12	1.01

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape

Note: a significant at P<0.01
b significant at P<0.05

The likelihood of women working by employment status of household head is not similar to that by household expenditure and educational attainment of household head. The likelihood of working among women whose household heads were self-employed and not working was not significantly different and was greater than that of women whose household heads were private and government employees. Women whose household heads are self-employed can often assist their husbands or parents and hence be considered as working. Women whose household heads are government employees may have been government employees when they met their husbands. Household heads who are not working may be disabled, retired or aging, which encourages women household members to work and take over the role of primary breadwinners in the household.

Domestic responsibility indicated by marital status and the presence of children aged 0-4 in the households does not have a strong influence on the likelihood of women working. The women who were married were less likely to work than those who were single, widowed or divorced. The women who were widowed or divorced were 1.7 times more likely to work and those who were single were 1.4 times more likely to work than the married. The women in households with one child aged 0-4 were only 1.5 times more likely to work than the women in households without children aged 0-4; there is no significant difference between the likelihood of working among women in households with no child aged 0-4 and with two or more children aged 0-4.

The pattern of likelihood of women working by age groups confirms that the childrearing period does not have a strong influence on the likelihood of women working. This is indicated by the greater likelihood of women working in the 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54 age groups, more than twice that of women in the 15-24 and 55-64 age groups. The likelihood of women working in the 15-24 and 55-64 age groups was not significantly different; the women who were in the 35-44 age group were three times more likely to work than the women in the 15-24 age group.

E. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the correlates of women's work activity using the 1992 SUSENAS data and logistic regression as the technique of analysis. The dependent variable is working or not working, while the independent variables are education, household expenditure, education of household head and employment status of household head, marital status, number of children aged 0-4 years in the household and age. All the characteristics of women examined have a statistically significant association with the likelihood of women working. The findings in this study generally support other findings especially in developing countries.

Education, especially senior high school or higher, has the largest influence on the likelihood of women working. Women who had no schooling, incomplete and completed primary education and junior high school education had a similar tendency to work. Women who had high educational attainment tended to work regardless of other characteristics.

Household socio-economic status does not have a strong influence on the likelihood of women working. However, the poor women are more likely to work than the better off women; this is indicated by the greater likelihood of working among women who have lower household expenditure and heads of household with lower education. Women whose households were headed by persons who were self-employed or not working were more likely to work than those whose household heads were private and government employees.

Marital status and childrearing have only a small influence on the likelihood of women working. Married women are less likely to work than non married women; this is mainly due to factors other than childrearing. Women with one child aged 0-4 in the household were 1.5 times more likely to work than women who had no child aged 0-4 and who had more than one child aged 0-4. Women in the 25-34, 25-34 and 35-44 age groups were more than twice as likely to work as women in the 15-24 and 55-64 age groups.

To sum up, the influences of characteristics of the woman on whether or not a woman works in urban Kalimantan are interrelated and cannot be separated from the household conditions discussed in Chapter 2, and the condition of the market for female labour discussed in Chapter 3. Further analysis is needed to answer questions such as which employment status was significantly influenced by education, household socio-economic status, marital status and childrearing. Therefore, examining the influence of characteristics of the women on their employment status is important to give a better understanding of whether or not a woman works. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

THE CORRELATES OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN URBAN KALIMANTAN

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the correlates of women's employment status in urban Kalimantan. The results in Chapter 4 suggest that women's work activity is partly influenced by their characteristics. The characteristics not only influence whether or not a woman works but also exert influence upon the kind of work women obtain. This chapter consists of four sections: the first discusses the theory of female labour demand; the second discusses the data, variables and methods used; the third describes the characteristics of women by employment status, and the fourth examines the correlates of women's employment status.

A. Female labour demand: a review of the literature

In her study in Lima, Peru, Scott (1990:212) found that there was no clear relationship between women's work activity and marital status, number of children or stage in the family life cycle, which leads to a suggestion that family patterns influence women's work activity directly through labour demand rather than through labour supply. The greater influence of labour demand than labour supply on women's work activity may also occur in urban Kalimantan because marital status, number of children aged 0-4 in the household and age group have little influence on the likelihood of women working (Chapter 4). The women are ready to work but they have limited choices because of limited labour demand.

Labour demand is influenced by economic development. On the basis of the work of Boserup (1970) and Oppenheimer (1970), Pampel and Tanaka (1986:600) hypothesise that the relationship between economic development and female labour demand is curvilinear: the emergence of industrial development reduces female labour force participation, industrial expansion keeps the participation low but it

increases with growth of the tertiary sector in advanced industrial economies. They further argue that the curvilinear theory emphasises the technological and economic organisation of work. The types of industries, occupations and the modes of production that dominate an economy affect the sex structure of the labour force.

Pampel and Tanaka (1986:614) show that their findings, based on 1965 and 1970 data for 70 nations, support Boserup's and Oppenheimer's arguments. The early stage of development reduces job opportunities in the traditional sectors such as agriculture and home industries where women tend to concentrate. In contrast, family obligations and competition with males restrict women's opportunities to work in modern industries; besides there is an increase in women's preference to stay at home doing domestic work, rather than work in the fields (Boserup, 1970: 80, 110-117). When economic development reaches an advanced stage, female labour demand in the modern occupations, especially in the tertiary sector, increases because of the concentration of job opportunities such as in the clerical, professional and service categories in this sector (Oppenheimer, 1970:160).

The main limitation of the curvilinear theory is that it simplifies the effect of economic development on female labour demand in developing countries. Modernisation in developing countries does not occur in all sectors and all industries in a sector. Economic activities can be divided into formal and informal sectors. According to the report of the ILO Comprehensive Employment Strategy Mission to Kenya, the informal sector is characterised by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises; small scale of operation; labour-intensive and adapted technology; skills acquired outside the formal school system; and an unregulated and competitive market (Sethurahman, 1976:125).

The informal sector typically consists of a range of small-scale, family-based enterprises producing goods and services (Alexander and Booth, 1992:288). The informal sector has no formal relations with the government or banking system, no fixed location and working hours, lacks accessibility to economic assistance from the government, little reliance on modern technology, small capital and production scale, requires minimal formal education, and limited marketing opportunities (Hidayat, 1978:7-8). Paid domestic work or petty trade, and small-craft production

are included in the informal sector if they are carried out intermittently on an irregular basis (Arizpe, 1997:237).

The government and private sectors create direct job opportunities in the formal sector. When economic development has not reached an advanced stage, the government has a dominant role in creating skilled jobs which are concentrated in the tertiary sector. In Indonesia, the role of the government in tertiary employment was stronger than was the case in the now-developed countries at a similar stage of their development (Alexander and Booth, 1992:287). Increasing revenue due to the oil boom allowed the government to expand infrastructure such as education, which since the mid-1970s has required the recruitment of teachers and has been a major reason for growth in the Indonesian civil service. In 1988, 2 million of 3.53 million civil servants had been employed for less than 10 years and 1.51 million were teachers (Alexander and Booth, 1992:293) where women are usually concentrated (Boserup, 1970:125). At the advanced stage of economic development, the role of the government in creating high-skilled jobs in tertiary employment will be replaced by the private sector. For instance, clerical jobs are an important source of work especially for young and single women in Jakarta where private enterprise is most developed (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:13).

The private sector has been important in the formal sector of secondary employment. Women constituted at least 60 per cent of workers in Export Processing Zone industries in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, India and Sri Lanka in the early 1980s (Pyle and Dawson, 1990:44). Single daughters commonly work in export manufacturing in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore (Salaff, 1990:115). In contrast the majority of women workers in export manufacturing in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic were married or single heads of households; the employers prefer married women with children because these women tend to have greater commitment to their work (Safa, 1990:78).

Female employment in modern manufacturing has been a recent phenomenon in many developing countries, termed by Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye (1980:14) the new internationalisation of labour. This term refers to the relocation of production

to a place which can provide the most profitable combination of capital and labour which is induced by intense global competitive pressures in the world market. In these countries, foreign investments originating from industrialised countries have been steadily increasing (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980:44).

Developing countries have been regarded as the most profitable place for the relocation of production because of three factors. First, these countries have an oversupply of labour willing to work for low wages and in bad working conditions. Second, advanced technology has made fragmented operations of the production process simple and able to be carried out with skills easily learned within a very short time. Third, development of technology in transport and communication has made time and place less important as obstacles in the relocation of production. This can lead to complete or partial production of goods at any location in the world (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980:13).

The tendency to employ mainly women workers in modern manufacturing has raised a huge debate among scholars. Pyle and Dawson (1990:43) argued that women workers are employed because they are not only cheap but are also more productive in women-related tasks and easily controlled, resulting in lower per-unit costs of production. Asian economies have taken advantage of gender-based wage differentials in which women can be paid less than men for performing the same tasks. However, other scholars such as Stichter (1990:22) contend that female labour is not cheap because employers have to bear the costs of childbearing and childrearing such as maternity leave, sick pay, more frequent absences and higher health care bills. The lower wages for women than for men are not because they are women but because they work in high-technology companies in labour-intensive sections and tasks (Srinivasan, 1981:90).

The high population growth and limited jobs in rural areas of developing countries, which are at least partly due to the neglect of agricultural development, encourage a rapid growth of urban in-migration and the urban informal sector (Alexander and Booth, 1992:287). The rapid growth of the informal sector is often argued to be because of displacement of agricultural labour which cannot be absorbed by the formal sector, although many studies show that this is not always the case. Many

enterprises in the informal sector are efficiently operated and produce goods and services for which there is a large and growing demand, often from middle-class consumers (Alexander and Booth, 1992:288). The nature of the informal sector creates a wide range of economic activities in this sector. In Mexico City, the activities range from private tutoring in foreign languages to dishwashing (Arizpe, 1997:233). In northwest Lombok, poor and illiterate women were mainly engaged in petty trade because this does not require advanced skills or training (Krisnawati and Utrecht, 1992:49).

Differently from the formal sector, labour demand in the informal sector is mainly dependent on labour supply because jobs in this sector are mostly self-created. Therefore, it is important to have access to the means of production and markets required for informal sector jobs such as apprenticeships, capital, tools and clients (Scott, 1990:213). The level of capital is determined by socio- economic class which influences access to finance. A trader who is able to make large capital investments can sell higher-quality products, obtain higher profits, and work shorter hours than a trader with a little capital (Krisnawati and Utrecht, 1992:48). Different classes of women in the informal sector have different motives for work. In northwest Lombok, women in the better-off households were working to supplement household income and to improve standards of living. Earnings were spent on luxury household articles, improving education for their children or investment in other businesses; women in poor households were working through economic necessity (Krisnawati and Utrecht, 1992:49).

To sum up, the relationship between economic development and the demand for female labour in many developing countries may not necessarily follow a curvilinear pattern because of the important role of the formal and informal economic activities in these countries. Though economic development has not attained an advanced stage, the government sector enables women to obtain high-skilled jobs, especially teaching jobs, in the tertiary sector. The new internationalisation of labour in developing countries also enables the secondary sector to create many jobs for women with low-skills. The importance role of the formal sector in tertiary and secondary employment for women also indicates that

family responsibility is not likely to be an obstacle to women working in the formal sector.

The combined role of the formal and the informal sector in female employment leads to no clear pattern in the relationship between the orderly stage of economic development and female labour demand. Lack of ability of the formal sector to fill demand for goods and services combined by the high labour supply creates the informal sector. The importance role of the informal sector reveals that home-based economic activities do not disappear along with economic development as predicted by Boserup (1970). The informal sector is not only an important source of jobs for poor women but also for better-off women. The dominant role of the informal sector in tertiary employment in developing countries leads to the lower education of labour in the tertiary employment in these countries compared to that in developed countries.

B. The data, variables and methods

The main sources of data and variables for this chapter are the same as for Chapter Four. The focus of analysis in this chapter is whether women in the formal and informal sectors have different characteristics. Respondents are only those who were working. The variable 'employment status' is used as a proxy for differentiating work in the formal and informal sectors. A total of 1116 women aged 15-64 in the 1992 SUSENAS was selected for the analysis.

The 1992 SUSENAS classified those who were currently working into five employment status groups: self-employed, employers, government employees, private employees and family workers. Those who work and bear the entire risk of the job, who work without particular employers and who are in business with the assistance of their family members, or non-permanent workers are defined as self-employed. Non-permanent workers are those who work for employers but are paid only when there is work. Those who employ permanent workers and bear the entire business risk are defined as employers, and permanent workers are those who work with other persons or institutions and are paid regularly, even though there is no

work. Those who work for government institutions and other people or non-government institutions are defined as government and private employees respectively. Those who work for other people or other household economic enterprises without any form of payment are defined as family workers.

The formal or informal sector is being defined based on employment status by which self-employed and family workers are categorised into the informal sector while employees and employers are categorised into the formal sector (Anwar and Pungut, 1993:11). This study also defines the formal and informal sectors on the basis of employment status. The 1992 SUSENAS data show that 52 per cent of women aged 15-64 who were not household heads were working in the formal sector, which consisted of government employees (24 per cent) and private employees (28 per cent); the remaining 48 per cent were working in the informal sector which consisted of self-employed (30 per cent) and family workers (18 per cent).

Definition of the formal sector is subject to limitations; for instance 'employee' may include those who were working in informal service occupations such as domestic servants and 'self employed' may include those who were professionals such as medical doctors who run private practice. However, the limitations may not greatly influence the analysis since major occupations in the formal as well as the informal sectors confirm the definition. In the formal sector, the types of occupation of government employees are concentrated in the high-level skills including professional (49 per cent) and clerical (39 per cent), while for private employees they are more distributed into various levels of skills such as production workers (27 per cent), sales (22 per cent), service workers (17 per cent) and clerks (12 per cent). In the informal sector, the types of occupation for the self-employed are mainly sales (64 per cent) and production workers (12 per cent) while family workers consist mainly of sales (63 per cent) and agricultural workers (20 per cent).

The correlates of women's employment status are examined using logistic regression. Four models are examined. The differences between the four models are in the dependent variable used and in some categories of independent variables. The dependent variables, which are dichotomous for all four models are government and

non-government employee, private and non-private employee, self-employed and non-self-employed, and family workers and non-family workers. Some categories of independent variables are grouped to avoid small numbers of cases, therefore, categories in the variables between models are not always the same.

C. Characteristics of women by employment status categories

Table 5.1 shows respondents' employment status by their characteristics. Although there are both government and private employees in the formal sector, they are not similar. Educational attainment of the government employees was higher than that of private employees. Almost all (94 per cent) of the government employees had at least senior high school education compared to 51 per cent of the private employees; women who had completed primary education comprised 23 per cent of the private employees. The government employees were mostly (81 per cent) married while the private employees were mostly non-married, single, widowed and divorced (66 per cent). The government employees mostly lived in households with no child aged 0-4 (58 per cent) and with one child aged 0-4 (35 per cent) while the private employees were concentrated in households with no child aged 0-4 (73 per cent). The government employees were older than the private employees. Around 50 per cent of the government employees were aged 25-34, and of the private employees, 15-24. The second largest proportion of the government employees was in the 35-44 age group (26 per cent) and of the private employees, in the 25-34 age group (32 per cent).

The heads of households with government employees were mostly government employees (61 per cent). Heads of households with private employees were distributed among private employees (35 per cent), self-employed (30 per cent) and not working (22 per cent). Accordingly, the heads of government employees households mostly had at least senior high school education (74 per cent) while the educational attainment of the heads of private employees households mostly had primary education or less (50 per cent) or senior high school education or higher (38 per cent). Monthly household expenditure of the government employees was higher

than that of the private employees. The proportion of government employees with household expenditure of Rp. 300,000 or higher was 52 per cent, and with Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,999, 30 per cent. Compared to that of government employees, the household expenditure of private employees was more evenly distributed; the proportion with Rp. 300,000 or higher was 41 per cent, Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,999 32 per cent, and less than Rp. 200,000 27 per cent.

In contrast to government and private employees in the formal sector, self-employed and family workers in the informal sector have many similarities. Primary level education was most common for both those who were self-employed (62 per cent) and for family workers (59 per cent). The proportion who had junior high school education or higher among self-employed (21 per cent) and family workers (29 per cent) was the next most common category. The self employed (78 per cent) and the family workers (69 per cent) were mostly married. Most of the self-employed (69 per cent) and the family workers (73 per cent) were living in households with no child aged 0-4. The self employed (72 per cent) and the family workers (73 per cent) who had household heads with primary education or less were the largest proportion of the self-employed and the family workers respectively. The highest proportion of self-employed (47 per cent) and family workers (42 per cent) had household expenditure less than Rp. 200,000; the proportions of those who had household expenditure Rp. 200,000 - Rp. 299,999 and Rp. 300,000 or higher differed only slightly.

Dissimilarities between self-employed and family workers are found only in age groups and employment status of household heads. The self employed were concentrated in the 25-34 (30 per cent), 35-44 (29 per cent) and 49-54 age groups (20 per cent) while the family workers were concentrated in younger age groups, 15-24 (33 per cent), 25-34 (24 per cent) and 35-44 (25 per cent). Around 85 per cent of the family workers lived in households headed by self employed workers whereas self employed workers lived in households headed by self employed (48 per cent), government employees (26 per cent), not working (15 per cent) and private employees (11 per cent).

Table 5.1

Respondents according to background characteristics and employment status, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of the women	Employment status (%)				
	Gov. employee	Private employee	Self employed	Family worker	Total
N	270	315	333	198	1,116
Age					
15-24	11	53	14	33	28
25-34	52	32	30	24	35
35-44	26	11	29	25	22
45-54	11	2	20	13	12
55-64	0	1	6	6	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Marital status					
Not currently married	19	66	22	31	35
Married	81	34	78	69	65
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Persons aged 0-4 years					
0	58	73	69	73	68
1	35	23	25	17	26
2 or more	7	4	6	10	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Respondent's education					
No schooling	0	4	17	12	8
Incomplete primary school	0	10	30	28	17
Completed primary	1	23	32	31	22
Junior high school	4	12	11	15	10
Senior high school or higher	96	51	10	15	43
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Household head's education					
Completed primary school or less	15	50	72	73	52
Junior high school	11	13	9	11	11
Senior high school or higher	74	38	19	16	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Household head's employment status					
Not working	11	22	15	7	15
Self-employed	18	30	48	85	42
Government employee	61	13	26	7	20
Private employee	10	35	11	2	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Household monthly expenditure					
< 200,000	17	32	47	42	35
200,000-299,999	30	27	29	27	28
300,000 or higher	52	41	24	31	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape

Table 5.1 shows that the formal and the informal sectors have dissimilarities in age groups, educational attainment, household expenditure and educational attainment of household heads. Compared to women in the informal sector, women in the formal sector were concentrated in fewer age groups, had higher educational attainment, had higher household expenditure and had heads of households with higher educational attainment. The government employees of the formal sector and workers in the informal sector have similarities in that most of them were married. The private employees of the formal sector and workers in the informal sector also have similarities in that around 70 per cent of them were in households with no child aged 0-4. Among all groups of employment status, the government employees are unique because their heads of households also were mostly government employees. In contrast private employees were mostly non-married with self-employed household heads.

D. The correlates of women's employment status

Tables 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 show the final logistic regression models. All independent variables which were entered into the logistic regression models in Chapter Four are also entered here. However, the final models show that the factors influencing whether or not a woman works, as described in Chapter 4, are not the same as those which influence the likelihood of a woman having a particular employment status. Only education of the respondents influences the likelihood of a woman being in each employment status group, while household expenditure and number of children aged 0-4 years in the household do not have any significant influence on a woman being in any employment status group.

Table 5.2 shows that the likelihood of a woman being a government employee is influenced by education and marital status of the respondents, and employment status of the household head. The women who had at least senior high school education were 45 times more likely to be government employees than those who had lower educational attainment. The high concentration of women with at least senior high school education in government employment proves the important

contribution of the government sector in services especially in professional occupations such as teaching and paramedic work (see discussion in Chapter 3).

Table 5.2

Odds ratios of women being government employees and their correlates, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Coefficients of X	S.E	Odds Ratio
Respondent's education			
Less than senior high school	0.00	-	1.00
Senior high school or higher	3.81	0.29	45.35[a]
Marital status			
Currently married	0.00	-	1.00
Not currently married	- 1.50	0.22	0.22[a]
Employment status of household head			
Non-government employee	0.00	-	1.00
Government employee	1.74	0.21	5.72[a]

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape
Note: a significant at P<0.01

Performing domestic duties did not reduce the likelihood of a woman being a government employee. The women who were currently not married were 78 per cent less likely to be government employees than those who were currently married. The women living in households headed by government employees were 5.7 times more likely to be government employees themselves than the women in households headed by non-government employees. Since the women who were government employees were more likely to be married, the household heads who were government employees were more likely to be husbands of these women. This is most likely to be due to assortative mating rather than to choice of occupation after marriage. The women who were government employees in urban Kalimantan tended to start working soon after finishing school and to continue working after marriage (see Chapter 6 and 7). Their husbands were probably their colleagues who generally had at least a similar level of occupation The concentration of married women in the government sector is also due to the declining ability of the government to create high skilled jobs for the younger generation so that this

generation is much more dependent on jobs created by private enterprise than by the government.

Table 5.3 shows that education, age and marital status of the respondents and employment status of the household head significantly influence the likelihood of a woman being a private employee. However, there is only a small influence of education on the likelihood of a woman being a private employee. Women who had at least senior high school education were only 1.5 times as likely to be private employees as those with primary education or less; no significant difference was found in the likelihood of being a private employee between women with primary education or less and junior high school education.

Table 5.3

Odds ratios of women being private employees and their correlates, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Coefficients of X	S.E	Odds Ratio
Age			
15-24	1.37	0.23	3.93[a]
25-34	0.83	0.21	2.30[a]
35-64	0.00	-	1.00
Respondent's education			
Primary school or less	0.00	-	1.00
Junior high school	0.06	0.26	1.06
Senior high school or higher	0.42	0.17	1.53[b]
Marital status			
Currently married	0.00	-	1.00
Not currently married	1.46	0.19	4.29[a]
Employment status of household head			
Non-private employee	0.00	-	1.00
Private employee	1.48	0.19	4.37 [a]

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape
Note: a significant at P<0.01
b significant at P<0.05

Women who were in the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups were respectively 3.9 and 2.3 times more likely to be a private employee than those who were 35-64 years, and women who were not currently married were 4.3 times more likely to be private employees than those who were currently married. Women who lived in households headed by private employees were themselves 4.3 times more likely to be private employees than those where household heads who were not private employees.

The pattern of the likelihood of women being private employees may reflect job opportunities in the modern private sector in urban Kalimantan, which has mainly created jobs requiring low- and medium-level skills such as factory work, which has long working hours under strict supervision, or sale of consumer products where the products are introduced and sold from house to house, or shopkeeping. Married women are less likely to work in jobs which demand much time, provide low wages and are regarded as having low status; besides, there may be discrimination against married women, especially in factory employment. Moreover, married women are more likely to be selective in seeking jobs than single women; single women are more likely than married women to take jobs in the formal sector, although such jobs require lower education than they have and they are paid on the basis of their job rather than their education.

Table 5.4 shows that the women who were self-employed are significantly influenced by their education, age and marital status and education of the head of their households. Women who are self employed create their own jobs. There is no formal requirement for the jobs, which may influence the pattern of the likelihood of the women being self employed. The women who had junior high school education or higher, who were not currently married, who were aged 15-34 and who lived with household heads who had junior high school education or higher were least likely to be self-employed.

Table 5.4

Odds ratios of women being self-employed and their correlates, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Coefficients of X	S.E	Odds Ratio
Age			
15-34	0.00	-	1.00
35-44	0.51	0.18	1.67[b]
45-64	0.70	0.21	2.01[a]
Respondent's education			
No schooling	1.92	0.29	6.83[a]
Incomplete primary school	1.75	0.23	5.73[a]
Completed primary school	1.59	0.20	4.90[a]
Junior high school or higher	0.00	-	1.00
Marital status			
Currently married	0.00	-	1.00
Not currently married	- 0.59	0.18	0.55[a]
Educational attainment of household head			
Primary school education or less	0.00	-	1.00
Junior high school or higher	- 0.39	0.18	0.68[b]

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape
Note: a significant at P<0.01
b significant at P<0.05

The women who had no schooling, incomplete primary education and primary education were respectively 6.8, 5.7 and 4.9 times more likely to be self-employed than those who had junior high school education or higher. The women who were not currently married were 45 per cent less likely to be self employed than those who were currently married; the women who were in the 35-44 and 45-64 age groups were respectively 1.7 and 2.0 times more likely to be self-employed than those who were in the 15-34 age group; the women who lived with household heads who had at least junior high school education were 33 per cent less likely to be self-employed than those where household heads had primary education or less.

Finally, Table 5.5 shows that the women who were family workers were most likely to be in the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups, have at least junior high school

education and live in households headed by self-employed workers. The likelihood of being a family worker among women who were in the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups was not significantly different; the women who were in the 35-64 age group were 45 per cent less likely to be family workers than those who were in the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups. The women who had at least junior high school education were 1.8 times more likely to be family workers than those who had less than junior high school education. The women who lived in households headed by self-employed workers were 9.9 times more likely to be family workers than those where household heads were not self-employed.

Table 5.5

Odds ratios of women being family workers and their correlates, Urban Kalimantan, 1992

Characteristics of women	Coefficients of X	S.E	Odds Ratio
Age			
15-24	- 0.02	0.21	0.98
25-34	- 0.57	0.22	0.57[b]
35-64	0.00	-	1.00
Respondent's education			
Less than junior high school	0.00	-	1.00
Junior high school or higher	0.60	0.18	1.83[a]
Employment status of household head			
Not self-employed	0.00	-	1.00
Self- employed	2.29	0.21	9.90[a]

Source: The 1992 SUSENAS recorded tape
Note: a significant at P<0.01
b significant at P<0.05

The rather high education of the family workers is surprising since this employment status is often associated with low education. Probably this is due to unavailability of desired jobs in the formal sector. Household heads who are self-employed give women household members easier access to jobs which may involve helping without pay as part of daily activity. This kind of job can be carried out by women regardless of their education and age and other characteristics such as marital status.

E. Conclusion

This study shows that family obligations are not likely to be an obstacle to women working in the formal sector. The presence of children aged 0-4 in a household does not have a significant influence either on the likelihood of women working in the informal sector, which includes self-employed and family workers, or on the likelihood of women working in the formal sector, which includes government and private employees. Married women were more likely to be government employees than non-married women.

The greater likelihood of married women being government employees is due to demand rather than supply factors. Job opportunities in urban Kalimantan are limited, therefore, people who have obtained established jobs, such as those in the government sector which provide a monthly salary, health and retirement benefits, and the opportunity to pursue a career, tend not to think of changing jobs. This is also the case with married women who are government employees. Women in urban Kalimantan are most likely to start working soon after finishing school when they are still single; they tend to continue working after marriage and their husbands are most likely to be government employees. Secondly, the decline in the ability of the government sector to create jobs since the fourth REPELITA, in the mid-1980s (Chapter 3), may explain the high concentration of married women in the government sector since women in the older age groups have greater opportunities to be government employees than do younger women.

The important influence of labour demand also is reflected by the lesser likelihood of married compared to non-married women being private employees. Besides, there may be discrimination against married women and married women themselves may not be interested in being in private employment for various reasons, such as the high opportunity cost of being a private employee. Jobs in the private sector, which mainly require low and medium skills, may not be suitable for women with high education. This is indicated by the influence of senior high school education or higher on the likelihood of women being private employees, which is much less than its influence on the likelihood of women being government employees. Even if the lower education level of a married woman is suited to the

requirements of jobs in the private sector, she may still not be interested in private employment, because of the small rewards or low social status of such jobs. This finding confirms the slow economic development in urban Kalimantan compared to Jakarta, where private enterprises have a greater ability to create high-skilled jobs in the tertiary sector.

The informal sector is another important source of job opportunities. The people still depend on the informal sector, since not all of them are able to afford goods and services in the formal sector. This potential demand for goods and services in the informal sector may encourage women to meet this demand through creating their own jobs. These women may include those who are not able to obtain jobs in the formal sector or who prefer being self- employed to working in undesirable jobs in the formal sector. Jobs in the informal sector are mostly created by women who have primary education or less. The informal sector also includes women family workers who help their self-employed household heads without pay. Women with junior high school education were slightly more likely to be family workers than those with lower education.

It is clear that women's characteristics have more influence on whether they work (Chapter 4) than on their employment status, especially in the formal sector. Government and private employment are more influenced by labour demand than labour supply. Women who are married and have at least senior high school education are most likely to be government employees since jobs requiring high education levels are concentrated in the government sector. The relationship between labour demand and labour supply is clearer in the informal than in the formal sector, since jobs in the informal sector are self- created and do not have the same requirements as in the formal sector. Women with lower education are most likely to work in the informal sector, although not all such women are able to create their own jobs, because they lack capital. Women who are self employed seem to have more varied economic backgrounds than those who are in the other groups of employment status as indicated by the lack of a significant influence of employment status of household head on the likelihood of a woman being self employed. The next two chapters explore relationships between labour supply, which is influenced

by individual as well as household characteristics, and labour demand, both in the formal and the informal sectors.

CHAPTER 6

WOMEN AND WORK IN PONTIANAK : A CASE STUDY

The main objective of this chapter is to explore the factors which influence the relationships between individual and household characteristics based on the work history case studies of women in Pontianak. The analysis in Chapters Four and Five based on the 1992 SUSENAS data is not able to capture complex factors related to work since the survey in which the data were gathered was not designed to meet the objectives of this study. The analysis in this chapter raises issues related to work and does not generalise, although the same issues may be found elsewhere in Urban Kalimantan.

The analysis in this chapter is divided into three sections. The first discusses the qualitative study including the reasons for selecting Pontianak as the research site and the methodology of selecting the informants. The second section discusses conditions in the case study area which may influence women's employment status. The third section provides qualitative case histories of eight women with different characteristics. The conclusion draws out issues from these case studies in relation to decision-making about work and family.

A. The qualitative study

1. Reasons for selecting Pontianak

The qualitative study was carried out from September to November 1995 in Pontianak. This city was selected for two reasons. First, Pontianak is one of the major cities in Kalimantan: the others are Palangkaraya, Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Balikpapan. Samarinda and Balikpapan are the centres of development in East Kalimantan, one of the richest provinces in Indonesia. These two cities are unique

because of the oil and timber boom and they are least likely to represent the typical conditions in urban Kalimantan.

Despite their differences, Pontianak, Palangkaraya, Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Balikpapan have some similarities. In 1990, the proportion of women to the total labour force in urban areas of the cities was 25 to 31 per cent; and the female labour force was concentrated in three main industries: services, trade and manufacturing. The level of education of women in urban Pontianak was similar to that of urban Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Balikpapan, and not as high as in urban Palangkaraya. In 1990, more than 50 per cent of women in urban Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Samarinda and Balikpapan had completed primary school education or less and less than 22 per cent had completed senior high school education or higher. In the same year, 49 per cent of women in urban Palangkaraya had primary school education or less and 31 per cent had senior high school education or higher (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d).

Pontianak does not have a dominant ethnic group or culture. The proportions of the two major ethnic groups, Malays (40 per cent) and Chinese (45 per cent) (Achadiyat,1989:40) were similar. The other ethnic groups are Javanese, Madurese, Buginese and Banjarese. Every ethnic group has its own culture and they have little influence on each other. For example, Pontianak is one of the few cities in Indonesia with a majority of ethnic Chinese but the Chinese do not influence the daily language in this city. Chinese terms for some amounts of money such as *cepek* and *gopek* have been used by non-Chinese in Jakarta, but they are not well known among non-Chinese in Pontianak. In everyday life, Chinese in Jakarta speak Indonesian while Chinese in Pontianak speak Chinese. The absence of a dominant ethnic group is indicated by the use of Indonesian as the daily language. In 1990, the proportion of the population using Indonesian in urban Pontianak (25 per cent) was not as low as in Banjarmasin (6 per cent) and not as high as in Samarinda (39 per cent) and Balikpapan (83 per cent) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992a, b, c, d). Banjarmasin is predominantly Banjarese, which is the dominant language; while Samarinda and Balikpapan have many immigrants from various places, which encourages the use of Indonesian as the common language.

The second reason for selecting Pontianak is that I lived in this city for about 10 years, I studied at a state university and taught at the same university after completing my study. I spent my years in Pontianak not only studying and working, but also socialising with neighbours, having contact with people at the market and at any place where I carried out my daily activities as an individual and a member of family and society. This life experience in Pontianak provides me with insight to describe, interpret and analyse the behaviour of the people in this city.

2. Selecting the informants

In-depth interviews and focus-group discussions were carried out in order to select the informants as well as to explore women's views on family and factors related to work. In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants who identified respondents to be interviewed. These interviews were conducted by myself and focus-group discussions were carried out with the assistance of three junior lecturers from the Faculty of Economics, University of Tanjungpura. Women were purposively selected as informants using the following criteria: married or single, aged 10 to 64 years, living with family, having a main occupation either in the formal or informal sector (such as teachers, clerks, factory workers and traders) or not working, and having different levels of education. 'Working' in this case study was defined using the conventional labour force approach, the same as the Census and the SUSENAS (see the discussion of the definition of working in section D2, Chapter 1).

Information from the key informants helped me to find the informants. The primary school teachers were selected by visiting a primary school and interviewing a headmaster to obtain information on teachers in the school and the performance of the teachers. The informants who were of low economic status were mostly selected by visiting *kelurahan* Banjar Sarasan, which was categorised as a poor area by the regional government because of lack of urban facilities in the area. At this *kelurahan,* I interviewed the chairman of *Karang Taruna* (a youth organisation initiated by the government) and the secretary of *PKK* (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) to obtain information on members of the organisations and the life of women at the *kelurahan.*

I also found informants through focus-group discussions. The main purpose of focus group discussions among potential informants was not only to obtain general views on family and factors related to work but also to introduce myself and get to know the women. Five focus-group discussions were held with different groups of women: married and single women who were living in the poor *kelurahan;* high-ranking civil servants' wives who were active members of *Dharma Wanita* and working or not working; and women who were clerks in the government sector. From these focus-group discussions I selected informants who matched the criteria. After the focus-group discussions, participants continued informal discussions and mentioned their friends, neighbours or relatives as examples of problems discussed in the focus group. This information provided opportunities for me to find informants who were not participants in the focus groups but who met the criteria and would otherwise be difficult to find. For instance, one participant who was a clerk in the government sector said that she had a servant who had senior high school education. I selected this servant as an informant.

I also told my friends that I was looking for informants who met certain criteria. They helped me by supplying information, and using this information I selected some other informants such as a single woman who had university education but had never worked, and a lecturer's wife who had a university degree but who was not working. I had difficulties in finding single women who had senior high school education who were not working. In some cases, according to the key informants, such women were not working. However, when I interviewed the women about their main activity based on the conventional labour force approach, these women fell into the category 'working'. It seems that jobs such as selling clothes and helping at a food stall, when done by women with at least senior high school education, are not recognised as 'work' either by the society or by the women themselves. This may indicate that a job should match the formal education, otherwise it is not considered as work.

The total number of selected informants was 30: 19 married and 11 single women. Nine of the married women and nine of the single women were working. The husbands of married women and the parents or other family members of single

women were interviewed to obtain their opinions on the women's work activity. The detailed analysis of these interviews is undertaken in this chapter and Chapter 7 and only the most relevant cases are analysed. In this chapter, eight intensive case studies are discussed in order to focus attention upon the major issues relating to women and work in Pontianak.

B. Pontianak: the equator city[3]

Pontianak on the west coast of West Kalimantan is the capital city of Pontianak Municipality as well as West Kalimantan province; it is known as 'the equator city' because it is on the equator. It is humid, and the temperature ranges from 23 to 31 degrees Celsius. The population of Pontianak in 1990 was 396,658 with 100 women for every 104 men. From 1980 to 1990, the population increased by 32 per cent, with an increase in the productive age group of 15-64, from 58 per cent to 62 per cent. The population density was 3.4 times lower than that of Jakarta. Islam is the major religion in Pontianak. Muslims constituted the largest proportion of the population (68 per cent) in 1995, followed by Christians (12 per cent), Budhists and Hindus (18 per cent) and 'others' (16 per cent).

Pontianak is the centre of transport and communications in West Kalimantan. It has an airport for domestic flights connecting it with other places outside West Kalimantan, mainly through Jakarta, and international flights connecting Pontianak and Singapore. The airport also serves flights linking Pontianak and the interior parts of West Kalimantan which cannot be reached by land transport. Pontianak has a harbour linking the city with other ports outside West Kalimantan such as Jakarta and Surabaya. There are also small ports linking parts of Pontianak and linking Pontianak with the interior of West Kalimantan. The largest land transport terminal in Pontianak is located in Siantan, North Pontianak, from which roads run to other regions of West Kalimantan.

[3] Except otherwise indicated, source of data in this section is 'Pontianak in Figures 1995' published by Kantor Statistik Kotamadya Pontianak, 1996

A small area and a small population enable people in Pontianak to spend less time in travelling to other parts of the city than people in Jakarta. Although there are traffic jams on several main roads at certain times, when the people are going to school or work and returning, traffic does not cause major problems. Besides personal transport such as bicycles, motorcycles and cars, there is public transport such as buses, *opelet* which are smaller and carry fewer passengers, taxis and *becak* (pedicabs).

1. Economy

Pontianak Municipality is the centre of regional administrative and socio-economic development in West Kalimantan. As such, it is the richest district in West Kalimantan. Per capita income in this municipality in 1994 (Rp. 3.8 million) was almost twice as high as in the neighbouring Pontianak District (Rp. 2.2 million), which had the second highest per capita income in the province (Hendria et al., 1993:6). The economy of Pontianak is mainly dependent on the tertiary sector which includes services, transport and communication, trade, restaurants and hotels, and finance. The tertiary sector contributed 87 per cent of the total Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) and absorbed 73 per cent of the total labour force in 1994 in Pontianak.

Pontianak is the centre of job opportunities in West Kalimantan. As the centre of regional administration, the city has many government institutions which in the past were very important sources of employment for local people with a high level of education. In 1995, the number of government institutions in Pontianak was 52 with a total of 5195 employees excluding teachers: the number of teachers was 1619.

Another important source of employment for people with a high levels of education is the formal private sector. However, high skilled job opportunities in the formal private sector are limited. For instance, private educational institutions, where high-skilled job opportunities were concentrated, in 1995 comprised 180 schools, 11 colleges and seven universities with 2685 permanent teachers and 296 lecturers. In the same year, the number of private firms was 2,753 with total workers of 69,904. Manufacturing had the largest number of firms (35 per cent) and absorbed the

largest proportion of workers (54 per cent) but mostly in the production section (83 per cent) which required low skills. The other industries which had a large number of firms were social services (28 per cent) and trade (16 per cent) which respectively absorbed only 4 per cent and 7 per cent of total workers in the private firms. Thus, job opportunities in the formal private sector have not been able to compensate for declining job opportunities in the government sector.

An important source of employment for many people in Pontianak is the informal sector. Jobs in this sector are mainly self-created, initiated by demand or supply. Where there is a demand, the unmet needs for goods and services may stimulate people to create jobs to fulfil those needs. From the supply side, difficulties in finding jobs may cause people to create their own jobs. Jobs in the informal sector are mainly created by people with a low level of education while well-educated people tend to work in the formal sector.

According to the records of the government in 1995, Pontianak has various small industries which are broadly classified into food, non-food and services industries. The services industry had the largest number of production units (946) followed by non-food industry (389) and food industry (209). The concentration of small enterprises in the services industry may be due the small amount of capital required by this industry. The average amount of investment in the services industry (Rp. 11, 377) was around half of the investment in the non-food industry (Rp. 21,243) and one third of the average investment in the food industry (Rp. 39,917).

The five largest production units in each type of industry are as follows: tailoring (146), beauty parlours (97), goldsmiths (96), motor car repair shops (94) and photocopying (82) in the services industry; furniture (95), printing (69), garments (30), handicrafts (22) and wood-shavings (21) in the non-food industry; and ground coffee (28), cream soda (19), soy sauce (18), ice cubes (17) and fresh bread (15) in the food industry. Numbers employed on average were around two to four in the services industry, three to nine in the non-food industry and five to 10 in the food industry. There were only a few production units in saw-milling (1), salt (4), cold storage prawns (8) and oxygen (1) but they employed a large number of workers, 240, 43, 43 and 30 respectively.

2. Education, labour force and job seekers

Pontianak is the centre of formal education in West Kalimantan. In 1993, there were 58 kindergartens, 209 primary schools, 70 junior high schools, 38 senior high schools, 16 senior vocational schools, 11 colleges and 9 universities. The state educational institutions outnumbered the private educational institutions only at the primary school level while at other levels the situation was reversed. At the college level, there was no state college at all. The number of state primary schools was almost six times that of private primary schools, which indicates the government's attention to the needs of the people for primary education.

The contribution of the private sector in establishing educational institutions reduces the government's burden in meeting education needs. The availability of private schools, especially junior-level (52), senior high schools (31) and senior vocational schools (11) with varying amounts of school fees provides more alternatives for the people, especially for those who want to study at the state schools but fail to meet the minimum requirements of these schools. The wide range of school fees in the private schools provides opportunities, especially for the students from poor families, who cannot afford to study at expensive private schools.

The availability of educational institutions from kindergarten to university has contributed to an increase in the level of formal education in Pontianak. From 1992 to 1994, the proportion of the population aged 10 years and over who had junior high school education or less decreased. This was compensated by the increase in the proportion of those who had senior high school education or higher, from 22 per cent to 28 per cent.

Increase in the level of education is one of the factors which encourages people to work. The people with high levels of education seeking jobs in Pontianak are not only originally from Pontianak but also from other parts of West Kalimantan. Those who come to Pontianak to continue studying at higher levels of education such as

senior high schools, colleges and university tend to stay in this city after finishing their education to seek jobs rather than return to their original regions.

The increase in the proportion of the population who have at least senior high school education has contributed to the increase in the proportion of the labour force who have a high level of education. The proportion of the labour force with at least senior high school education doubled from 16 per cent in 1980 to 32 per cent in 1990. The greater likelihood of people with a high level of education working in the formal sector than in the informal sector reduced the proportion of the self-employed from 45 per cent in 1980 to 28 per cent in 1990 and increased the proportion of employees from 47 per cent to 61 per cent in the same period.

People who are looking for jobs in the formal sector can be identified through the records of the Department of Manpower since this department issues cards for job seekers, and the card is one of the requirements for job applications in the formal sector. There were 4,157 male and 3,197 female job seekers in 1995. Job seekers who had senior high school education (43 per cent), made up the largest proportion of the total job seekers. The increasing number of people from poor families who have a high level of education, if they are not able to remain unemployed or if they cannot create better jobs on their own, forces many to take jobs in the formal sector, although the jobs require a lower level of education than they have.

3. Female labour force and job seekers

Working is not a new phenomenon among women in Pontianak. Women have created their own jobs as traders, traditional birth attendants, tailors and beauticians. Women also have had access to jobs in the formal private sector and the government sector. They have various others occupations such as labourers, sales assistants, shop-keepers, teachers, nurses, clerks, managers, medical doctors and lecturers. Their occupations indicate their levels and fields of education, employment and social status. Women have attained high positions in government institutions. For instance, at the University of Tanjungpura, women have been deans, vice-deans and the director of the studies centre. The current second vice-rector of the university is the woman who was formerly the dean of the faculty of

agriculture. A woman is even currently the dean of the Technical Faculty where female students and lecturers were a minority. The statistical data about these women are not available but they are visible. Although the number of women in high positions is less than that of men, it is a fact that they have held such positions.

The willingness of women to work is indicated not only by the women who are employed but also by those who are seeking jobs. Data from the Department of Manpower indicate that women, at all levels of education, seek jobs in the formal sector. In 1995, 74 per cent of job seekers who had primary school education obtained jobs. This level of success was followed by those who had university degrees (44 per cent), senior high school education (5 per cent), junior high school education (4 per cent) and college education (1 per cent). The high proportion of women with a low level of education who obtained jobs in the formal sector confirms the fact that job opportunities in this sector were concentrated in low-skilled jobs. Many other women are seeking jobs but they do not report this to the government for various reasons such as feeling discouraged.

The low proportion of the female job seekers with college education who found jobs in the formal sector reflects the fact that there is little demand in the formal sector for female labour with college education. Despite this, there is a perception that there is a high demand for women who have practical skills, such as in secretarial and administrative work and computing and this perception encouraged women to continue studying at colleges which offer such skills. In this type of college, the numbers of female and male students were similar or the female students might even outnumber the male students. For instance, the ratio of female to male students in computing was 0.8 to 1, in administration was 0.8 to 1, and in secretarial and management colleges was 1.6 to 1. As a result, almost twice as many female as male job seekers had college education.

C. Portraits of eight women

These portraits are of typical women covered by this study. The four women who were currently working had different characteristics: two women wanted to work

and obtained their desired jobs; one woman wanted to work and was not able to work in her desired job; and one woman did not want to work but had to work. Also included are the stories of four currently non-working women with different characteristics: one woman wanted to work but there was no desired job available, one woman had to quit from her job because her husband did not allow her to continue working, one woman was able to quit from her job which she did not like because her husband asked her to stop working and one woman wanted to work in a high skilled job but she was not qualified for such work. As an individual, each of these women had a unique personality and unique life, however, they shared common views and experiences.

1. Imai: a Dayak Christian, a trader

Imai, a 28-year-old mother of two children, was a trader. She was living with her nine-year-old son and six-year-old daughter, husband, and an 11-year-old distant relative from the village who was helping her with domestic work. Her son was in the third year of primary school and her daughter in the first year. Her husband was rarely at home because he was a seaman, *anak kapal,* and spent most of his time at sea. He was working on a boat which brought logs from logging locations in remote areas to the processing location on the border of Pontianak municipality and Pontianak district. When I visited Imai's house for the interview, her husband had not been working for almost two months because the river was shallow owing to the dry season and the boat was not able to sail. He was at home playing and talking with his children and neighbours. Imai said that she did not mind that her husband did not help her in working and doing the housework since she thought that he should just relax after months at sea.

Imai was originally from a remote village in Sanggau district where the ethnic majority is Dayak. She studied up to the second year of primary school. At that time she thought that her ability to read and write was sufficient; therefore, she preferred to play with other children or help her parents in the field rather than study. Her parents and many parents in her village also did not care whether or not their children studied. Imai's older brother never went to school at all because he had to

help their parents in the field while her younger brother only studied up to the fourth year of primary school.

Because of her skill in traditional dancing, Imai was asked to be a dancer, *anak joged,* or a dancer in the village under the co-ordination of the head of the village. The job of *Anak joged* is to serve the village's guests or visitors who want to dance at a dance party. Imai met her husband at a party. At that time her husband was on stopover from his sailing on the way back to Pontianak. He asked her to dance continuously for 10 songs at the party. He visited her house the following day and three months later they were married. This was in 1985. After the marriage Imai stayed in the village while her husband visited her whenever the boat stopped at the village. Imai's two children were born in the village. Before her first child went to school, she and her children accompanied her husband on the boat for about two years. She enjoyed the life. Whenever the boat stopped at a village she used to socialise with the women in that village. When her first child had to start primary school her husband asked her to move to Pontianak.

Imai opened her small stall in 1993. She said that she really wanted to work because she did not have much housework to do. She could manage the housework easily; therefore she had plenty of time doing nothing at home. The problem was that she did not have enough capital. When her uncle went back to the village for about three months, and asked her to look after Rp. 250,000 for him, she had the idea of borrowing his money and using it as capital. She mentioned the idea to her uncle and he did not mind lending the money to her. At that time her husband was sailing but he had known that she wanted to work, but he could not afford to provide her with capital.

Imai's stall was three metres by 2.5 metres, located next to the verandah of her house. She was selling daily necessities such as coffee, tea, onions, sugar, salt, biscuits, cakes which she made and vegetables which she grew around her house. She used to buy the goods for her stall at a central market every two days. She went to the market by bicycle and it took 30 minutes from her house to the market and back. She used to go to the market in the morning leaving at four and returning at six before her children went to school. The school was only 10 minutes walk from

their house. Imai was very happy with her small stall because it gave her activity and money to contribute to the family economy. Sometimes she had problems with customers who bought goods at her stall on credit and could not pay at the promised time while she needed cash to buy new stock for her stall.

Imai's net income from her stall was Rp. 90,000 a month on average. Before having the stall, Imai was dependent on money which her husband gave her once every three months, around Rp. 450,000. She had to manage the money carefully to meet the family's economic needs while her husband was away. Sometimes her husband came back one or two weeks late and the money had run out. She would buy daily necessities on credit at a stall, where she was a customer, and repaid it when her husband returned home.

Imai's husband was happy that Imai could have a small stall because her income could help the family economy, especially when he found it difficult to obtain a new work contract. The most important thing for him was that Imai was happy doing her work. He and Imai wanted to provide a good education for their children and hoped they would have good jobs, as civil servants. Imai said that being a civil servant was nice because they received a monthly salary without working hard physically and worrying about losing their jobs.

2. Maya: a Malay Muslim, a primary school teacher

Maya was a 38-year-old primary school teacher who had been in her job since 1978. She married in 1979 after a year of courting with a man who was a friend of her brother in-law. Her husband was a paramedic at the government hospital. After formal working hours, her husband informally served people who needed his treatment. The total income of Maya's family was around Rp. 1,000,000 per month. Maya's family life was relatively prosperous, as indicated by the condition of her house, which was Italian-style with the walls and floors of cement, and the roof of good-quality tiles. The house was painted with good paint and floored with good ceramic tiles. The furniture was luxurious: the sofa was made of fine leather.

Maya had wanted to work since she was a child because she wanted to have her own money, to be able to buy anything she wished. After she completed junior high school, her family and relatives suggested that she continue studying at the *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (Teachers Training School) because she would get a job after finishing her studies. At that time demand for primary school teachers was high. Those who studied at the Teachers Training School were under contract to the government, appointed as civil servants, and assigned to teach at a state primary school after completing their studies.

She wanted to work before marriage and enjoyed freedom and happiness being a single woman. Maya said that working provided another happiness after marriage. She became more enthusiastic because she could contribute to the family economy and was able to help her relatives without asking her husband for money. Her job was very challenging because she had a role in preparing the future of the next generation. She was proud of having such a role in society and she gave her students her best.

Maya said that she never discussed with her husband whether she could continue working after marriage. She believed that he was an understanding man and would not object if his wife worked. She met him when she was working, and he knew that she enjoyed her job. Her husband confirmed this by saying that he was happy because both of them were working and could buy land and build their house together. He was also proud of having a working wife because working extended her perspective and made her communicative in socialising with people.

Maya was living with her husband, mother, 15- and 11-year-old sons and eight-year-old daughter, and her 13-year-old niece. Her niece was from a village and studying at Maya's expense. She had been living with Maya for two years. Maya said that she did not have any big problems with her job when she had babies because her husband and her mother helped her with the housework. Before going to work her husband looked after the babies while Maya and her mother did the housework. Maya cooked, prepared breakfast and lunch, and cleaned the house with help from her mother. She used to leave for work when the house was clean and lunch was ready; so her mother did not need to do any housework except caring for

the babies. Now her children were studying. The eldest was in the second year of junior high school, and the second and the youngest were in the fifth and second year of primary school respectively. The eldest child went to school alone by bicycle while the younger ones went to school with Maya by motor cycle because they were at the school where Maya was teaching.

Maya said that her husband could handle babies very well because he was a paramedic and he did not mind doing it. However, Maya still thought caring for babies was the mother's main responsibility; therefore, she thought that she would have more freedom in working and doing social activities when the children grew up. She said that feeling responsible towards children occurred naturally and this was the cost of having children. At the same time, she also obtained benefits from having babies, such as feeling happy playing with the babies and watching them grow up. Maya and her husband said that they wanted to provide their children with as high a level of formal education as they could. When they were asked about their expectations for their only daughter, they said that they wanted their daughter to be a career woman, a lecturer or a doctor.

3. Nah: a Malay Muslim, a cleaner at a plywood factory

Nah, a 43-year-old cleaner. had been working in the machine section of a plywood factory since 1981. She did not want to work but had to work for family needs because her husband's income was not sufficient to provide for the family. She was paid on a daily basis - Rp. 3,500 per day - and was paid only if she worked. She spent Rp. 400 on transport. She had to take a motor boat from her house to the factory and back. She used to bring lunch from home to save money. Her husband was 46 years old and a boatman. His average daily income was Rp. 2000 to Rp. 3000. He earned Rp. 150 for every person who took his row-boat. He was not able to work every day because he had asthma. When I visited her house for the interview, her husband was lying on a thin old mattress on the floor in a room. Nah said that her husband had had problems with breathing since the previous night.

Nah was currently living with her husband, her 14-year-old only daughter, and her brother- in-law and his wife who had no children. Her brother-in-law was a labourer

at the market while his wife was selling clothes on the sidewalk at the market. Her brother-in-law and his wife had been staying with them for five years. Nah worked from 7 in the morning to 3 in the afternoon with a break from 12 to 1. She started working when her daughter was one year old. Her mother who was still alive at that time stayed with her and helped her to look after her daughter while she was working. Nah said that she did not have much housework to do because her family did not have many clothes to wash, much food to cook or a large house to clean.

Nah was not busy with housework; so she would have been able to work a full seven days a week to increase her income. However, she was only able to work four days a week on average because of sickness. Five years ago she contracted a heavy cough. She used to go to the primary health centre for treatment but she had not recovered yet. Poverty made Nah and her husband look much older than their ages. They were very thin and weak with many wrinkles on their faces. Their eight- by five-metre house by Kapuas River was ramshackle with many holes in the floors, walls and roof. The floors and the walls were made of very poor-quality wood, and the roof was made of palm leaves. The house had two sleeping rooms, one kitchen and one guest room with a set of old chairs made of poor-quality rattan.

Nah's daughter was studying at the highest level of junior high school. Nah said that she wanted her daughter to continue studying at the Senior Vocational High School, so that she could get a good job in the government sector. However, her economic ability was very limited and even now she had difficulties in meeting her daughter's school needs. She expected that her daughter would work at least to fulfil her personal needs. It would be good if her daughter could help her parents or her husband when she got married.

4. Hana: a Madurese Muslim, a helper at a food stall

Hana was 23 years old. She started helping at a food stall when she was in the second year of senior high school. The food stall was about 50 metres from her school. She was offered work as a helper at the food stall by her neighbour who owned it. Hana accepted the offer because she wanted to have pocket money. When

she was studying, she only worked for about two hours in the afternoon. Before school, she helped prepare food. During the break she helped serve customers who were mostly students. At that time she was paid Rp. 10,000 a month. After completing school in 1993 she was working around six hours from 10 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon. She was paid more, Rp 25,000 a month.

Hana did not expect to be a helper at the food stall forever. She wanted to be a civil servant. She knew that being a civil servant now was very difficult. If she could not be a civil servant, she would not mind working as a photocopier or in a supermarket. However, these jobs were also difficult to obtain. Since she completed her studies at senior high school, she had not applied for any jobs because she never heard of any job opportunities which required senior high school education. She had once heard from her friends about being a labourer at a plywood factory but she was not interested in being a factory worker because the work was very hard; for instance, factory workers were required to work night shifts.

Hana was living with her father and mother, two brothers and two sisters. Her father had retired from the lowest rank of the civil service since he did not have any formal education; his job was a gardener. He had inherited 400 square metres of land from his father; he cultivated the land and planted vegetables and bananas and sold them at the market. Hana's mother used to make banana crackers from dried bananas which were fried, and sold them at several small stalls. Her oldest brother, who was 26 years old and had completed senior high school, was a civil servant. Her younger brother, who was 20 years old and had completed junior high school, was a temporary worker at the research institute of a state university. Her younger sisters, who were 15 and 17 years old, were studying at junior and senior high school respectively. Hana's family was relatively well off. Her house was 20 metres by 10 metres. The floors and roof were made of good quality wood and the walls were made of cement.

Hana's father and mother expected that Hana would be a civil servant. Hana's father said that being a civil servant was secure because civil servants did not need to worry about losing their job. Civil servants could work until they retired, have a regular salary, and retirement and health benefits. When he was asked about

working after marriage, he said that if Hana was a civil servant he expected that her husband would let her continue working because obtaining a job as a civil servant was very difficult. However, if Hana was still in her current job, as a helper at the food stall, he would not mind if her husband would not allow her to work since her income was very low. Hana had similar views to her father. She said that if she was married and her husband was able to support the family, she would prefer not to work than to continue as a helper at the food stall.

5. Ana: a Malay Muslim, a non-working woman with a university degree

Ana was 27 years old. She married when she was in her second year of university. Her husband was her former lecturer. After marriage her husband replaced her parents in financing her education until she obtained her degree in 1993. Ana was living with her husband, two sons, two servants, a younger brother and a distant relative. Her eldest son who was six years old and in the first grade of primary school was born when she was studying at the university. Her husband used to take their eldest son to school and pick him up again, accompanied by her youngest son who was two years old.

Ana wanted to work because she did not have much activity at home. Housework was mainly done by the servants and her relative. One servant looked after her youngest son whenever she wanted to have a rest from child-rearing or go out. She also wanted to work to apply her knowledge, widen her perspective and obtain money. Even though her husband provided her with sufficient money for daily necessities as well as her personal needs, she wanted to have her own money by working. Ana's husband would not mind if his wife worked as long as she did not forget her main responsibility at home.

Ana said that domestic duties, including child rearing, were her main responsibility but she did not necessarily do them. Her responsibility was at least in supervision to keep the household running smoothly. She said that having a good career would be useless if the family was broken. She wanted to be a civil servant because being a civil servant would make her feel comfortable to ask for leave whenever her children were sick. She would not think of working in the private sector because

employees were laid off more easily. She once had a test to obtain a job in the government sector but she failed. Ana's husband advised her to be patient because finding a job was very difficult. He helped Ana to find information about job opportunities. He said that if Ana worked he would not ask her to contribute to the family economy. Ana's money was for her since he was able to be the primary breadwinner in the family. He hoped that Ana would obtain her desired job quickly because he knew that Ana would be happy with that.

Ana once worked as a clothing seller for about three years and stopped for the birth of her second son. Her friend offered her clothing to be sold on credit. She took the job and offered clothing from house to house. Her income was dependent on how much clothing she was able to sell and she obtained money when customers paid for clothes. How many times customers paid for clothes was dependent on the price of the clothes. The more expensive the clothes the longer the period of paying off the clothes. Payment for clothes ranged from 5 to 12 months. Ana said that she did not spend much time in selling clothes because she could only do it whenever she had time. She stopped working a month before her second child was born, and she had not been working up to the time of interview. She thought of selling clothes again rather than staying at home doing almost nothing.

6. Nis: a Javanese Muslim, non-working, a former primary school teacher

Nis was a 40-year-old mother of three sons, 12, 10 and seven years old. She had completed Teachers Training School in 1973 and had been a primary school teacher. Her husband was a banking officer with a salary of almost a million rupiah a month. Her husband's income made her family wealthy as indicated by a modern house and luxurious furniture. Nis's husband's view was that the mother should be the primary care giver for her children instead of servants. He asked Nis to leave her job after the birth of their first child.

At the beginning, Nis rejected her husband's decision because she thought that working would not make her forget her main responsibility as a mother. The most important thing for her and her children was the quality of communication, not the amount of time she spent on communication. She told her problems to her parents

and relatives, and they did not agree with her husband's request that she should stop working. They were worried that Nis would have trouble with her marriage and she would have problems if she was not working. However, they failed to persuade her husband to change his mind. To stop working was not easy for her since she had worked for nine years when she was single. Nis did not dare to disregard her husband's decision because she did not want to have trouble with her marriage. She finally resigned from her job.

Nis still could not accept her husband's decision and she was depressed because of that. She enjoyed being a teacher because working provided her with friendships, opportunities to apply knowledge, to extend her perspective, and to have money which could be used to buy anything she wished without consulting her husband. Her children had grown and they were at primary school. She said that she did not have much housework. She was bored because she did not have any other activities at home. She would feel more disappointed when she heard the success stories of her colleagues who were able to improve their positions in their jobs and received high salaries.

7. Raud : A Malay Muslim, non-working, a former prawn peeler at a prawn factory

Raud was 25 years old and the only child in her family. Her father. who was a labourer at the market, died when Raud was 16 years old, just after finishing her final exam of junior high school. Raud's mother was a housewife. After her father's death, Raud and her mother became dependent on Raud's uncle, who stayed with them. Her uncle was a labourer in a plywood factory. Raud's uncle married three months after her father's death, rendering him unable to support Raud and her mother. Raud ceased schooling and decided to seek a job. Raud's first job was as a servant and she left this job after five years of working because her employer's family had to move to another city. A month later, she found a job as a prawn peeler. She did not like the job, but she had no other choice. Working as a prawn peeler was very painful for her because the sharp prawn shells used to hurt her hands, frequently causing infections.

Raud married a man who was a labourer at a plywood factory after five months of courting, Raud's husband felt sorry for her and asked her to stop working as a prawn peeler. Raud was thankful for that. A week before getting married she stopped working. She had been married for two years and had not yet had any children. Raud was living with her husband and her mother in a house made of poor quality wood. Her house which was seven metres by five metres was clean, neat and tidy. The house had two sleeping rooms with mattresses but no beds, a small living room and a kitchen, a radio and a black- and -white television. Raud looked after her appearance by using light make-up and wearing simple but modish clothes. She used to participate in social activities carried out by *PKK* at the *kelurahan*. She did not have any plan to work because she was sickly. She expected to have a baby as soon as possible because she wanted to have children.

8. Ena: a Malay Muslim, non-working woman who had never worked

Ena, who had never worked at all, was the 30-year-old mother of two children, a 12- year-old son and a 10-year old daughter. Ena had completed primary school. When she was asked whether or not she wanted to work she said with a smile that she only wanted to be a civil servant. She smiled because being a civil servant was only a dream because her formal education was too low. Her husband, who was three years older than Ena, also had primary education. He was a carpenter with an income of around Rp. 200,000 per month on average.

Ena completed primary school in 1979. She studied at junior high school for one and a half years; she left school because she wanted to get married. She decided to marry because many of her friends had been married at her age. She met her husband at a friend's wedding party two months before their marriage. When she told her parents that she wanted to stop studying and get married, her parents did not mind as long as her husband was working.

Ena's father was a carpenter and her mother was not working. Neither of them had any formal education. Ena's eldest brother had five years of primary education and her youngest sister had completed junior high school. Her brother was a factory worker; her youngest sister had a small food stall in her house. Ena expected that

her children would be able to study at least up to senior high school. She wanted her children to be civil servants because they would obtain a monthly salary and their jobs would not be as heavy as the job of carpenter. Moreover, work in the government sector had a rice allocation, retirement and health benefits, and you did not need to worry about losing your jobs.

Ena was living with her husband and children. She did the housework mostly alone without help from her husband, who used to go to work at seven in the morning and return home at six in the afternoon. She was very busy when the children did not go to school. She was especially busy in the morning because she had to do shopping, cook and clean the house. When she had to do something which could not be combined with child rearing, she asked for help from her neighbours in taking care of her children. In the afternoon she was not very busy because she just needed to warm food for dinner. At night after dinner, she washed clothes and her husband took care of the children.

Now Ena's children were in the fifth and third years of primary school. Ena had more spare time to participate in social activities at the *kelurahan.* Ena taught her children to be independent such as by washing their own plates after eating or by helping her with jobs that they could do. Some of her friends tended to spoil their children. The mothers just let the children play all the time and did not teach them to do housework.

D. Issues arising from case histories

Using the intensive case histories data presented in the previous section, this section summarises the underlying factors which influence the relationships between individual and household characteristics and women's employment status. The cases data reveal at least three underlying factors: job opportunities, marriage and household economic situation. The three factors are interrelated and each has be considered in explaining women's employment status. Religion and ethnicity seem not to have influence on women's behaviour related to work.

Not all job-seekers want or are able to create their own jobs. The decrease in the proportion of the self-employed in Pontianak indicates the increasing need for job opportunities created by other people, in the formal or informal sectors. The job-seekers with a high level of education tend to seek jobs in the formal sector because most of their jobs are created by this sector. The labour force with a low level of education is mainly concentrated in the informal sector.

The government and the private sectors are the two sources of formal job opportunities. In the past, the government played a significant role in creating jobs for people with a high level of education, not only in Pontianak but also in urban Kalimantan (Table 5.2). The experience of Maya who was a 38 years-old primary school teacher shows how easy it was for her to get a teaching job. In 1973, Maya who wanted to work, was advised by her family to continue studying at the Teachers Training School because the government appointed those who completed the course as civil servants. The experience of Maya is different from that of Hana and Ana. Hana who was 15 years younger than Maya, had senior high school education and wanted to be a civil servant, but she was a helper at a food stall. Ana was 10 years younger than Maya and had a University degree; she wanted to be a civil servant but she was currently not working.

Although jobs in the civil service for people with a high level of education have declined and may no longer be available, the significant role of the government in the past has established the civil service as the ideal employment for many people in Pontianak. Being a civil servant is desirable because they are not easily laid off, they have a regular salary, a rice allocation, and health and retirement benefits without working hard physically. Married women find this job congenial because they can ask for and obtain leave easily whenever children are sick, unlike those in jobs in the private sector. Parents, regardless of their employment status, who are able to provide at least senior high school education for their daughters, expect their daughters to be civil servants, as indicated by the expectations of Imai, Nah, Ena and Hana's parents towards their children. Men whose educated wives are seeking jobs also expect their wives to be civil servants as indicated by the case of Ana.

Job seekers with a high level of education now are mainly dependent on the formal private sector. The greater supply than demand for labour in the formal private sector induces this sector to employ people with higher qualifications than required. For instance, the production sections in large plywood factories which formally require workers with primary education, employ people with senior high school education. This is confirmed by the story of Hana whose friends with senior high school education were working in plywood factories. Women who are able to choose jobs will not take just any job available. Hana was not interested in being a labourer in a plywood factory because the available jobs were physically demanding and required night work. She preferred to be a helper at a food stall; not all jobs in the formal private sector are desired by female job seekers.

A wide range of qualifications for labour in the formal private sector helps job seekers who have limited choice. For instance, Nah was a cleaner in a plywood factory and Raud was formerly a prawn peeler in a prawn factory. Such jobs do not require any formal education. Nah and Raud are examples of women who are not able to find jobs for themselves, but Nah took a job which may have caused her cough and Raud's job caused infection to her hands.

The better-off women who want to work but have not found their desired job have more choices than poor women. Women in better-off families do not need to work because the families' economic needs have been met by the primary breadwinners such as husbands or parents. If they want to work, they choose jobs which are still acceptable, jobs which do not lower their social status. For example, selling clothes door to door was an acceptable job for Ana. She was the wife of a lecturer, had sold clothes and planned to do so again while she was seeking her desired job as a civil servant.

Marriage is the second underlying factor which influences the relationship between individual and household characteristics and women's employment status. The status of a wife and a mother is different from that of a daughter. Women may take for granted that their parents will love them forever but they may not be able to guarantee that they will be loved by their husbands forever. Consequently, women are more cautious in their relationships with husbands than with their parents. Nis

complied with her husband's request to leave her job although this made her unhappy. She disregarded parents and relatives who wanted her to continue working.

Work-related conditions among single women are varied. First, single women may not seek jobs because the jobs they want require qualifications which they do not have. When Nah and Ena were single, they preferred not working. Nah was not interested in working. Ena only wanted to be a civil servant but she did not seek the job because she did not have sufficient education to be a civil servant. Secondly, single women may seek jobs for which they have the necessary qualifications. Hana was seeking a job in the government sector because she thought that she was qualified to be a civil servant However, she had not found that job and was currently a helper in a food stall. Thirdly, single women may be forced to take jobs which they do not want, like Hana and Raud. Fourthly, single women may have found their desired jobs before marriage, like Maya and Nis who had been primary school teachers when they were single.

Women's working situations before and after marriage are not necessarily the same. First, married women may have to work although they do not want to work. Nah who preferred not to work was forced to be a cleaner when her daughter was one year old because her husband could not support the family. Second, single women who work in jobs they do not like may stop working after marriage. Hana did not mind leaving her job as a helper at a food stall after she married. Raud was thankful to her husband who wanted her to leave her job as a prawn peeler. Third, married women may leave their jobs because their husbands do not allow them to work, for the reason that children should be cared for by their mothers instead of servants. Nis had to leave her job as a primary school teacher because her husband required this. Fourth, women may continue working after marriage if their husbands do not mind having working wives. Maya worked continuously after marriage without interruption although she had three children. She would continue working until she retired. Fifth, women may continue not working after marriage because their husbands are able to fill the families' economic needs. Ena was still not interested in a job except that of a civil servant. Sixth, women may have an idea of working after the children have started school and do not require much physical attention.

Imai started to run her small stall at home when her youngest child was four years old.

The success of men as primary breadwinners may create advantages for the women who are not interested in working or who want to work but have not been able to find their desired jobs. Ena's situation may be the same as that of many other married women, explaining the much lower female than male labour force participation. Raud was grateful to her husband who wanted her to stop being a prawn peeler. Ana did not need to work but she continued seeking a job with the help of her husband.

Positive attitudes of husbands towards working wives may encourage women to continue working or to start working after marriage This is supported by the availability of substitute care-givers such as servants, relatives and parents who enable women to continue working after having children. Maya continued being a primary school teacher while her mother helped with the children. Nah's mother had to look after her grand-daughter when Nah had to work in the factory. Families may have servants whether or not women work. Ana who was not working had two servants and a distant relative who helped her in housework and child-rearing. Ana had spare time at home which encouraged her to seek work.

All the respondents had a relatively small number of children. Of the working women, Maya who had Teachers College education had three children and Imai who had not completed primary school education had two. Of the non-working women, Ana who had a university degree and Ena who had not completed junior high school each had two children. The availability of contraceptives and the emphasis on the quality rather than the quantity of children encourage women to have few children.

The third underlying factor is the economic condition of families. Economic condition and working can be interrelated. For instance, women with a high level of education and who had worked in their desired jobs before marriage had high aspirations towards children and family. They continued working after marriage because they want to have accomplished children, and their husbands alone may not

have been able to meet the high aspirations of the family. Maya was more enthusiastic about working after marriage because she was able to contribute to the family's economic needs. She also contributed her money to buy land and build a house. Also, a better economic condition of the family may enable a woman not to work. Regardless of their economic status, some women may create their own jobs and these jobs are dependent on their skills and capital. Poor women who do not have any capital may sell their labour to the formal private sector.

It is clear that there is a relationship between the factors influencing whether or not a woman works and whether or not she works in a particular job. The complex factors related to work reveal that women who have the same characteristics do not always have the same work pattern. Although women with a high level of education tend to work in high-skill jobs in the formal sector, this pattern does not always occur because they sometimes do not work if their desired jobs are not available. These women may have been working since they were single but they may stop working because their husbands do not allow them to work. Poor women who have a high level of education may take jobs in the formal sector which require a lower level of education than they have. To obtain a better understanding of women and work, the next chapter discusses motives for work in the context of family.

CHAPTER 7

WORKING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FAMILY

After exploring motives for seeking factory employment among young women in Nuwun, Wolf (1990) concluded:

> An important and unexpected finding was that most young women were motivated to seek factory employment for individual social and economic reasons, not for the betterment of the family economy. 'I wanted to be like my friends' said five workers. 'Almost all of my friends here work in a factory. In the late morning (*siang*), it's very quite because they've all gone to work. I wanted to work too' (Wolf, 1990:51).
>
> The relative autonomy of young Javanese females and their somewhat self-centred concerns is far from resembling our image of docile Asian females (Wolf, 1990:53).
>
> The individualistic motives expressed by Javanese young women seem so unexpected and surprising mostly because of our own conditioning by the household literature from which we expect the sublimation of individual needs to household needs. We would not be surprised by the individualistic motives of a Canadian teenager because we would not make such assumptions about the relationship and the household; rather, family conflict would be acknowledged and even expected (Wolf, 1990:64).

Wolf's conclusion indicates that researchers tend to generalise the behaviour of Asian women as subservient. They do not expect that Asian women will behave like Canadian women, which makes the finding in Nuwun 'so unexpected and surprising'. The generalisation neglects the complex behaviour of Asian women. Even an Asian woman may have complex behaviour, she may be subservient as well as rebellious or moderate, in regard to different aspects of her life. Wolf's findings are neither unexpected nor surprising, as long as the complexity of Asian women's behaviour is considered.

The main objective of this chapter is to explore working in the context of the family in Pontianak. The chapter consists of four sections: the first discusses the literature on motives for work in the context of household; the second discusses the process of work decisions; the third discusses motives for work; and the fourth discusses individual motives for work in the context of the family.

A. Individual and household motives for work: a review of the literature

Studies of women's motives for work in the context of the household tend to use household approaches which neglect individual needs. Household approaches are mainly derived from the theories on the status and role of women in the family, with emphasis on one function of the family, either economic or social status. The economists regard women as secondary breadwinners who will work only if men, who are the primary breadwinners, are not able to support the household (Hamermesh and Rees, 1984:23, 380). Another theory is proposed by the sociologists: women only work if their occupational status will increase the social status of the household (Oppenheimer, 1982:265). As a response to household approaches, Wolf (1990) used an individual approach which neglects household needs. Both household and individual approaches neglect the fact that household needs are part of individual needs and vice versa.

The emphasis on household motives for work neglects the need to elaborate the underlying factors which encourage women who have household motives to work. The household economic need is a very important motive for work in general. Studies in various places in Indonesia -Surakarta, Surabaya, Bali, East Jakarta, a village in Java, Bali, Yogyakarta and West Java- indicate that women mainly work for household economic needs; married women are more likely to work for this reason than single women (Hatmadji et al., 1993:1). However, households have different levels of economic needs, basic and subjective economic needs.

Women can be encouraged to work by different levels of household economic needs. The cases of Nah and Maya, described in Chapter 6, show that both have household economic motives for work but they are encouraged to work by different factors. Nah started working as a cleaner in a plywood factory when her daughter

was one year old because her husband could not support the family; she would stop working if he could do so. Unlike Nah, Maya started working as a primary school teacher when she was single. Both Maya and her husband had high aspirations, indicated by their willingness to provide their children with at least university education and the need to have a luxury house, which increased their household subjective satisfaction. Maya's husband was not able to fill the household needs alone, so Maya mentioned household needs as one of her motives for work. Unlike Nah, Maya would not stop working although her husband was able to fulfil the subjective household needs because she obtained various personal benefits other than money from her job.

Individual motives for work of household members are common in Indonesia. Educated women in Surakarta and Surabaya said that they worked because the job was suitable to their education (Hatmadji et al., 1993:1), while women in Jakarta and Yogyakarta said that they worked because they were 'making use of the education they achieved' (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984:18). 'Interest' was one of the motives for work among women who were in the garment industry in Bali (Hatmadji et al., 1993:7) and in the weaving industry in West Sumatra (Miko, 1991:60).

Women may have individual motives for work since the household functions enable individual household members to be part of the family without neglecting their individual needs. Individual motives for work cannot be separated from the family conditions. Background experiences teach people to prefer different outcomes or rewards. They also are interrelated with spouses, children, relatives, and friends. People also have different capacities to perform the kinds of work that are likely to yield the outcomes they prefer (Hall, 1994:91). Individual needs may conflict with the collective needs of families. However, the emotional function of the household enables household members or a particular household member to tolerate and understand the behaviour of other household members for the sake of household survival.

Individual and household motives cannot be clearly separated since individual motives can be household motives and vice versa. For instance, family survival is

regarded not only as a family need but also as an individual need. This is indicated by changing attitudes towards working women which tend not to change the views of women on family life, either in developed or developing countries. A study in the United States found that almost three-quarters of women regarded being a wife and a mother as the 'most satisfying way of life' even though more than half of these women preferred to combine it with a job outside the home (Gallup Poll, 1985 cited in Rothman, 1987:331). A study among educated women in Yogyakarta found that the most important achievement in their life is husband, children and home (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:19).

The importance of family life in women's personal life is reflected in the importance of husbands' attitudes towards working wives, in both developed and developing countries. Husbands' attitudes were very important in determining the participation of wives in economic activity in the Republic of Korea (Shields, 1987;122) and USA (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984:32). A study in Jakarta found that 16 per cent of the women who were not working claimed 'husband disapproves' as the reason; around 40 per cent of both workers and non-workers felt that the deciding factor in work was the husband's approval, that work was permissible only if it did not conflict with mother- and wife- roles (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:101). Thus, household functions cause both household and individual motives for work to be important for household survival.

B. Work decisions in the family

Women making their own decision to work are not a new phenomenon in Pontianak. Regardless of marital status, all women in this study, who had ever worked, who wanted to work and who were currently working, decided to work by themselves. A total of nine married and nine single women were currently working, one single woman was currently not working and seeking a job, four married women had worked and one of them was seeking a job. Occupations of the women who were currently working and who had worked by marital status and the highest level of educational attainment are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Occupations of women by marital status, age and education, Pontianak, 1995

	Name	Occupations of single women who were currently working	Age	Education
1	Hana	helper at a food stall	23	senior high school
2	Sun	clothing trader from house to house	24	university degree
3	Ati	clerk at a private senior high school	29	senior high school
4	Ira	collector of television fees	21	senior high school
5	Dina	lecturer	26	university degree
6	Ita	servant	22	senior high school
7	Lina	human resources manager in a private firm	31	university degree
8	Aya	non-permanent employee in the civil service	20	senior high school
9	Tika	primary school teacher	30	one year teachers training course
		Occupations of married women who were currently working		
1	Imai	small trader	28	second year of primary school
2	Maya	primary school teacher	38	teachers training school
3	Vina	primary school teacher	33	teachers training school
4	Inung	*jamu* (traditional herbal medicine) trader	24	fifth year of primary school
5	Nah	cleaner in a plywood factory	43	second year of primary school
6	Sun	footpath clothing trader	28	junior high school
7	Via	bank clerk	30	university degree
8	Nina	clerk in the civil service	35	university degree
9	Saki	clerk in the civil service	50	senior high school
		Occupations of married women who had ever worked and were not currently working		
1	Nis	primary school teacher	40	teachers training School
2	Mita	clerk in the civil service	40	college
3	Raud	prawn peeler in a prawn factory	25	junior high school
4	Ana	clothing trader from house to house	27	university degree

Source: An in-depth survey in Pontianak, 1995

Work decisions are not independent of individual, familial, and macro socio-economic conditions. Chapter 4 discussed the influence of individual and familial conditions, age, marital status, education, the presence of pre-school children, household expenditure, and employment status and education of household head, on whether or not a woman works; women's employment status was discussed in Chapter 5, and the influence of the conditions on women's work activity was explored in Chapter 6. This section explores how women make decisions.

Women in the study started working for the first time at different stages of their life cycle. Of the nine married women who were currently working, three women, a small trader (Imai), a *jamu* trader (Inung) and a cleaner in a plywood factory (Nah), started working when they had been married and their youngest children were four years old (Imai), three years old (Inung) and one years old (Nah).

The other six women had been working when they were single. The current jobs of the six women were the first jobs for five women and the second job for one woman. Two primary school teachers, a clerk in the civil service, a clerk in a private firm, a clerk in the bank and a footpath clothing trader who had been working when they were single, continued in their jobs after marriage. One who was a clerk in a private firm transferred to a job in the civil service when her second daughter was two years old. This condition seems to indicate that women who have had established jobs since they were single tended to continue in their jobs after marriage. This is supported by women who were currently single and working as a clerk in a private senior high school, a lecturer, a primary school teacher and a human resources manager in a private firm, who stated their willingness to continue working after marriage and who did not want to find another job.

None of the married women asked their husbands' permission to continue working after marriage because they assumed that these men understood their wives' situations, such as that the women had been working and liked their jobs or that women should work because they had a high level of education or they had to help their family as well as their husbands. Via, a bank clerk, told of her reasons for not asking her husband's permission to work:

> My husband and I had university education. He met me when I was a bank clerk. I did not need to ask his permission to continue working after marriage because he should know that I should use my high level of education for working. I also told him that I had wanted to be a clerk in the bank since I had not finished my study at the university because I liked the uniform of the bank clerks which seemed to represent one of the fashions of modern career women.

Sun, a footpath clothing trader had similar reasons for not asking her husband's permission to continue working after marriage:

> My family and my husband's family were poor. I had three younger siblings and my husband had two younger siblings who were studying. I did not want to give an additional burden to my husband by asking him to help my family because he was only a small trader who had to help his family too. I did not need to ask his permission to continue working after marriage because he knew that I had been working since we first met and I liked my job.

Women who started working when they were single also did not ask their parents' permission. Women tended to have similar reasons for not asking parents' permission to work; such as poverty and parents' willingness to give daughters a better future by providing them with a good education. Ita, who had senior high school education and was a servant, explained her reasons for not asking her parents' permission to work:

> I did not need to ask for my parents' permission to work because they expected me to have a better future by providing me education up to senior high school. My family was poor but my father tried hard to give me a good education, so that I could have a good job, unlike him, who was a labourer. I was the only one who had senior high school education in my family, perhaps because I was the youngest. Two of my older brothers only had junior high school education. However, jobs were difficult to find, and I had to work as a servant.

Lina, a single woman, who was the human resources manager of a private firm said: 'my parents gave me and my siblings university education meaning that they wanted us to work, so that I did not need to ask their permission to work'. The cases of Via and Sun show that they did not ask their husbands' permission to work because they assumed that their husbands would allow them to work while the cases of Ita and Lina show that they did not ask their parents' permission because they knew that their parents expected them to work.

The women in the study who told their husbands or parents of their willingness to work also assumed that they would be allowed to work. They announced their willingness to work because they needed help or moral support from their husbands or parents. Ana, who had university education and was seeking a job in the formal sector, explained her reasons for telling her husband she wanted to work:

> My husband would allow me to work as long as I did not forget my main responsibility as a housewife. I knew that the meaning of responsibility for my husband was at least supervising housework and childrearing. Although I had not been working in the formal sector, we had employed two servants for housework and childrearing. I told my husband that I wanted to work because I needed his help to find information on job opportunities especially in the civil service. I really wanted to work and expected my husband would be able to help me to find a job in the civil service.

Inung, a *jamu* trader, gave her reasons for telling her husband she wanted to work:

> I asked permission to work from my husband because he should know what I was doing, and so that he would understand if I used his money to employ a servant because I did not have much time to do housework any more. I also used his money for my capital.

The need for her husband's help encouraged Nina to tell her husband that she wanted to leave her previous job as a clerk in a private company to take her current job as a clerk in the civil service.

> I transferred from my previous job in a private company to my current job because I wanted to cry whenever my children were sick because I was hesitant to ask permission to take leave from my director. My director was an understanding person because he allowed me to be absent when I had a sick child. However, I was aware that the consequences of many absences, would be the loss of the job. If I was a director, I would also be disappointed with my employees who had many absences. I told my husband about my problem and my willingness to work as a civil servant. My husband helped me by looking for information on job opportunities in the civil service. When he discovered an opportunity to be a clerk in the civil service, I decided to leave my former job although my salary in the former job was almost double that of my current job. I am happier in my current job than my previous job, because working in the government sector was not as strict as in the private sector. If my children were sick, I would not hesitate to ask to take leave because I would not be laid off because of that.

Women sometimes were not sure whether or not their decisions were beneficial for themselves as well as their families. This situation may have encouraged women to tell their parents or husbands whether or not they wanted to work. Mida, a 13-year-old girl, told of her reasons for consulting her mother:

> My parents did not mind that I would work because my family was poor. However, I was not sure whether or not I was able to work because if I worked, no one would take care of my younger brother who was only three years old. My mother was a prawn peeler in a prawn factory and she worked from seven in the morning to three in the afternoon. My mother suggested I should wait until my younger brother was big enough to be left alone at home. My mother had to help my father to support the household. My father was a labourer at a market. I actually wanted to study but I was shy because I had to repeat my second year of primary school which I had not completed yet, while I was old. I wanted to work because I wanted to help my parents and buy clothes like my friends.

Saki, a clerk in the civil service, told her husband she wanted to stop working because of the burden of child-rearing. The discussion changed her mind about stopping work:

> My burden as a working mother was almost unbearable when my babies or pre-school-age children were sick. My husband was a very understanding person because he would take leave from his job when the child was sick, but I still could not be free morally. My feelings as a mother compelled me to take care of my sick child. I almost left my job because I was not able to handle it, but my husband asked me to be patient and think about my future activities when our children had grown up. I think that he was right because now my children have grown up and I have plenty of time for myself, social activities and career.

Women need their husbands' moral support not only when they decide to work but also when they decide not to work. This is illustrated by the case of Raud, mentioned above, and also by the case of Mita. Mita liked her job but she had administrative problems in transferring. She finally left her job as a clerk in the civil service.

> I had been a clerk in the government sector for 11 years, since I was single. I left the job after seven years of marriage. My husband was transferred from one place to another as a requirement for promotion. This created difficulties for me because of administrative problems. For instance, I had to wait for my salary to be paid in a new place for six to 12 months and during this waiting period I had to keep checking that all required letters had been accepted by the office at the new place. I was tired of this situation. I had transferred to two places because of my husband's mobility. I finally thought that I wanted to leave my job. I could not decide alone because I knew that my husband understood that I was happy with my career. When my husband heard about my plan to leave the job he asked me to be patient. He was a high-ranking government official and did not want my money for household needs; he just wanted me to have a good activity. Since neither my husband nor I could overcome the administrative problems of job transfer, and my husband was most likely to be transferred to other places in the future, he finally asked me to reconsider my decision, so I would not regret the decision. A month later I resigned from my job.

Although the women in the study made their own work decisions, they were not necessarily able to realise these decision for various reasons such as limited job opportunities and child-rearing. Ana had not found her desired job as a civil servant, but she continued seeking a job with her husband's help. Nis, who had worked as a primary school teacher, was asked by her husband to stop working after the birth of their first child because of child-rearing.

> I thought he was an understanding man, so that I did not need to tell him that I wanted to continue working after marriage when we courted. He had known that I was a primary school teacher and I liked my job. I was shocked when he asked me to leave my job because he did not want our children to be looked after by a servant.

Child-rearing is not only an obstacle to married women working as is widely assumed, but also to single women working. This is indicated by the case of Mida who was not allowed by her mother to work because she had to take care of her younger brother. Although Nis's husband and Mida's mother did not allow them respectively to work because of childrearing, they had different views on childrearing, which were partly due to their different economic statuses. Nis's husband who was a bank clerk and able to employ a servant thought that Nis, not a servant, should be the primary care-giver for their children. The most important aspect of childrearing for Mida's poor family was that there should be someone to take care of a young child at home, so that other family members were able to work for household economic survival.

Women who were currently not working may say that their parents or husbands do not allow them to work, however, this simple statement should be elaborated since there is a complex phenomenon behind it. This can be argued as an oppression of a woman. Nis was depressed because her husband asked her to leave the job as a primary school teacher which she liked. Her eyes glistened with tears when she said that her husband did not allow her to work. The statement can also mean nothing. Mida smiled when she said that her mother did not allow her to work. Mida said: 'I did not have any problem although my mother did not allow me to work because it was only for the time being. I could help my parents by taking care of my younger brother so that all of us were able to eat'.

Furthermore, the statement can be an indication of the husband's support of his wife. Women may work in jobs which they regard as a burden because they do not have any choice. Such women may view marriage to a man who is able to support the household as a way to reduce their burden. Raud is one of these women. She said that her husband did not allow her to work because she was sickly, but she said that happily and was thankful to her husband who did not allow her to work. Single women who comprised a helper at a food stall, a collector of television fees, a servant and a non-permanent employee in the civil service said that they would not mind if their husbands did not allow them to work after marriage. However, if these women find an established job before marriage, they will mind leaving the job, whatever the reasons.

There are women who never worked at all. They may want to work if they are able to have the jobs which they like. However, not all women, or their parents or husbands, are able to find such jobs because they have limited choices. For many women, not working may be better than working as indicated by the case of Raud.

C. Motives for work

Woman in the study who had ever worked, who wanted to work and who were currently working tended to have personal as well as household motives for work. Motives for work include economic and non-economic motives such as happiness, interest, independence, applying knowledge and extending perspectives, experience and working as a good activity. Economic motives can be both personal and household motives, while non-economic motives are mainly personal.

1. Economic motive: household and personal motives for work

The most common motive for work among women in the case study was to earn money. Regardless of their socio-economic status, women mentioned earning money as a motive for work. This indicates that the women appreciate money as a reward for their work. However, they varied in their responses about motives for work. The women with less than senior high school education said without hesitation that their main motive was to earn money. In contrast, the women with at least senior high school education, regardless of economic status, gave non-economic motives first. They only said earning money was a motive for work after they were asked whether or not they wanted money from their work.

The findings seem to indicate that better educated women have a greater desire to show their high socio-economic status, as money is not their first motive. A servant who had senior high school education and whose father was a labourer with monthly income around Rp. 150,000, said experience was her first motive for work while a *jamu* (Javanese traditional herbal) trader, who had completed five years of primary school and whose husband was a noodle soup trader with relatively high monthly earnings, around Rp. 500,000, said earning money was her first motive for work. This may be because of the general assumption that working for money is only for women of poor households, where the primary breadwinner is not able to fully support the household.

The ways women used their earnings were categorised in the study as: for personal needs; both personal needs and household needs; and household needs. Earnings were used mainly for personal needs by eight single women regardless of the socio-economic status of their parents. The servant, mentioned earlier, and a door-to-door clothing trader, whose father was a headmaster in a primary school and whose mother was a headmistress in a kindergarten, mainly used their earnings for personal needs such as buying clothes. Low pay may lead single women to use their earnings mainly for personal needs.

The single women also helped their parents although this was not on a regular basis. Women in poor families helped their parents mainly in the case of emergencies, for instance when household members were sick. Women in better-off families gave their younger siblings money for school needs. A high salary may enable single women to work for personal needs as well as household needs. A human resources manager in a private company, whose salary was around Rp. 500,000, was able to replace her father as the primary breadwinner in her family even though her father was still able to support the household with his retirement benefit.

A strong belief in the role of husbands as primary breadwinners seems to provide benefits to some married women who are able to work mainly for personal needs. Two clerks in the civil service whose husbands were a clerk and a lecturer, a bank clerk whose husband was a businessman, a primary school teacher whose husband was also a primary school teacher, and a *jamu* trader whose husband was a noodle soup trader used their earnings mainly for personal needs. Only the primary school teacher used her earnings for personal needs other than savings, such as for clothing, while the other four women used their money mainly for saving because their husbands gave them enough money for their personal needs.

However, not all women and men believe that men should be the only breadwinners. A footpath clothing trader, whose husband was a trader and a primary school teacher whose husband was a paramedic said that household needs were the responsibility of both husbands and wives. These two women used their earnings for household and personal economic needs.

This study did not find any single women who used their earnings mainly for household needs, and found only one married woman, a cleaner in a plywood factory, who used her earnings mainly for household needs. The husband of this woman was a boatman who was not able to meet their basic economic needs.

2. Non-economic motives as personal motives

a. Happiness

All the women who were working were happy, but the main source of happiness for each woman was not necessarily the same. Happiness seems to depend on a woman's view of her job. Some women regard their job as a source of happiness because it gives various benefits other than money. These women are more likely to continue working even though their husbands are able to support the household. Women who had established jobs, such as clerks, a lecturer, a manager, teachers and a footpath trader, did not regard their jobs as a burden and wanted to work as long as possible. In contrast, a cleaner in a plywood factory was happy because she was able to help her husband to support the household, but she would like to stop working if her husband could do this without help. Instead of her job, the source of her happiness was the fulfilment of household basic needs.

b. Interest

Enjoying an interest is another motive for work. Interests can be based on natural skills which can be professionally enhanced through schooling or short courses. An interest can be turned into a job through capital and job opportunities. Three types of women who have 'interest' as a motive for work are found in this study. The first are those who have interests based on natural skills, and create their own job. Imai who was running a small stall in front of her house said communicating with people, which was required in trading was her interest. She was not shy about asking for payment from those who bought things on credit. The second type of women have interests which are professionally enhanced through formal schooling,

which enable them to obtain a job without creating their own job. Two married women who were primary school teachers said teaching was their interest. These two women were able to realise their interest in the form of a job because their parents were able to finance their education and Teachers Training School guaranteed jobs for its graduates.

The third type of women enhance their interests professionally through short courses in certain skills, such as sewing, hair cutting, make-up and cake-making, and create their own jobs. In situations where high-skilled jobs are limited, women who have a high level of education and may find it hard to get a job, may have the alternative of creating their own jobs based on personal interests or skills, which have been professionally enhanced by short courses. A non-permanent employee in the civil service who had senior high school education, and one single woman who had university education but was not working and had been seeking a job for four years, thought of taking courses in sewing and hair-cutting respectively because they liked these activities. They expected to have the capital to run home sewing and hair-cutting businesses.

c. Independence

Being independent is another motive for work. Independent means economically independent, which is reflected by the following statement: *Enak punya penghasilan sendiri, kita bisa beli apapun yang kita mau tanpa tergantung pada orangtua atau suami*: 'It is nice to have earnings because we are able to buy anything we wish without depending on parents' or husbands' money'. All single women who were currently working and four married women comprising a teacher, a bank clerk, and two civil servants, said being independent was a motive for work. The most important meaning of being independent seems to be having earnings for personal needs although the women's current personal needs are often fulfilled by their husbands, as was the case for the bank clerk and the two civil servants.

d. Giving is better than receiving

A primary school teacher and a clerk in the civil service mentioned *Memberi lebih baik daripada menerima* or giving is better than receiving' as a motive for work. Working enables women to have their own money and give to the needy. In the context of the relationship between husband and wife, the meaning of giving and receiving can be important for developing women's self esteem. Idah who was the non-working wife of a high-ranking official said 'receiving was painful', when receiving meant receiving money from husbands. Idah tends to emphasise the materialistic values of giving although not only material but also non-material things can be given, such as emotional support and understanding. So women are also able to give although they are not working. Receiving money from their husband can also be regarded as women's right. Thus, Via (a bank clerk) considered that she had a right to demand money from her husband.

e. Applying knowledge and extending perspectives

Other motives for work which are closely related to education are applying knowledge and extending perspectives. These motives were mentioned by the women who had at least senior high school education. Applying knowledge means that women apply knowledge obtained from school in their jobs, while extending perspectives means that women obtain knowledge from what they are doing in their job and interaction with peer groups in the work place. Sur, who had senior high school education and was currently a clerk at a private senior high school, said that she was working in this job because the job suited her education, she was able to apply her knowledge from formal schooling, and she was able to extend her perspectives through communication with teachers at the school who had higher education than hers. Previously, Sur was a foot-path clothing trader in a small town of one regency in West Kalimantan. Her earnings as a trader were around one and a half times higher than her earnings as a clerk. Sur's main motive for work in her previous job was to earn money.

f. Experience

Experience was a motive for work among women, who had at least senior high school education, but who had not found jobs which suited their education. Single women comprising a helper at a food stall, a door-to-door clothing trader, a servant, a collector of television fees and a non-permanent civil servant said experience was a motive for work. None of the women who had obtained a desired job mentioned experience as a motive for work. Limited job opportunities in Pontianak made women who had been working in a desired job tend to remain in it until they retired and not have any idea of transferring to another job.

g. Working as a good activity

'Working as a good activity' is another motive for work. Working is a good activity because it provides many benefits such as the motives mentioned previously. Working is also a good activity because it is better than doing nothing at home. Married women in the study on average had two to three children regardless of socio-economic status. When the children are around four years old or have started school, the amount of a mother's spare time at home increases, which may lead to the idea of using spare time productively. Imai started to think of running a small stall in front of her house when her youngest child was four years old because her child did not require much physical attention any more. She had much spare time and she liked to be active. The most probable productive activity for her was trading because she could do it at home combined with child-rearing and other housework. Ana who had a university education in economics was thinking about returning to her previous job, selling clothes from door to door, because her youngest child had reached two years old. She had plenty of spare time at home where two servants and a distant relative were helping her with housework and child-rearing.

D. Individual motives for work in the context of family

Individual motives for work cannot be separated from those of the household. The household will gain benefits from the job through the contribution of the household

members rather than from motives for work *per se.* Although the young women in Wolf's study worked mainly for individual motives, they also contributed to the household economy by buying consumer goods for the household and their parents for life-cycle events (births, deaths, circumcisions, marriages) emergencies and debts (Wolf, 1990:53). This is also found among single and married women who were currently working with personal motives in this study. This indicates that the contribution to household needs may not be the main motive for work, but the household may gain benefit from work.

Parents or husbands who are not able to fulfil women's personal needs may be happy because women are able to fulfil their own personal needs. A husband of a primary school teacher, who was also a primary school teacher, talked about his working wife who mainly used her earnings for personal economic needs since he strongly believed that he should be the primary breadwinner in his family:

> I could not afford to fill all the personal economic needs of my wife, which should be part of my responsibilities as a household head, especially when we had children, because we had to give priority to our children. I was able to give my wife food and housing but I could not afford to buy sufficient clothes for her. I was happy that she could buy clothes and cosmetics for which she preferred using her own money because I could not afford to buy them. I was not able to save my salary because most of my salary I gave to my wife for household needs. My wife was able to save her salary which was very important in the case of an emergency for instance when our children were sick. I could borrow money from my friends for such needs but my wife did not like me owing money and preferred to use her savings for such needs.

In the situation where working women have social status, individual motives for work such as independence, extending perspectives and applying knowledge are able to increase the social status of the family. Women in better-off families are more likely to have jobs which fulfil various personal motives, because they have more resources, such as education, than women in poor families. Men whose wives were working in highly-skilled jobs as teachers or clerks were proud of having working wives because they regarded their wives as modern women, who were independent, had wide perspectives, contributed to the society through their knowledge and were able to communicate with the society, especially through activities in social organisations.

Working wives are also an indication of modern husbands, who provide freedom to their wives. Husbands who are concerned about the family status and whose wives are not working may feel their public reputation is lower. 'My wife is only a housewife' is an expression of husbands who hesitate to admit that their wives are not working because they feel that the public will look down on them. Mita had worked as a clerk in the civil service and stopped working because of administrative problems in transferring jobs. She said of her husband's attitude towards her in public:

> I was introduced by my husband as *orang rumah* (home person) at a party. I was disappointed with the way he addressed me in front of other people. When we arrived home, I asked him not to introduce me as *orang rumah* any more because there were many *orang rumah* including servants. I told him that I am different from the others because I am his wife and asked him to address me as his wife instead of *orang rumah.*

Women who see jobs as a source of power in the husband-wife relationship are inclined to regard non-working women as having lower status. Nina, a clerk and the wife of a middle-ranking official, said: *Jika kita tidak bekerja, suami akan mudah sekali melecehkan*, 'husbands very easily look down on non-working wives'.

The high social status of working women may raise conflict between working and non-working mothers, indicated by a different emphasis on child-rearing. Non-working mothers tend to blame working mothers because they cannot provide sufficient attention to children. On the other hand, working mothers tend to emphasise the quality of communication between mothers and children as the most important factor which influences the accomplishments of children. However, the facts show that mothers, whether working or not working, are not necessarily primary care-givers to their own children, owing to the availability of servants and relatives. Ana, who was not working and had two servants and a distant relative who helped her in housework and child-rearing, said that she preferred doing housework to taking care of children which was a tiring job. Ana said that the most difficult task in child-rearing was feeding children because the children were reluctant to eat. Ana's servant frequently took around two hours to feed Ana's two-year-old son. Nina, a clerk in the civil service, also said that feeding children was

the most difficult task in child-rearing. She said 'the result of doing housework can be seen directly after doing it, while the result of child-rearing only can be seen in the future when children have grown up'.

E. Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter suggests that personal decisions to work and personal motives for working in Pontianak are neither unexpected nor surprising. Regardless of marital status, the women in the study, who had worked, who wanted to work or who had been working, made their own decisions. This study found neither daughters who work against their parents' wishes as in Java, nor daughters who are directed to work by parents as in Taiwan, as found by Wolf (1990). This does not mean that there are no such cases in Pontianak because behaviour is complex. Work decisions of the daughters in Pontianak may not be against their parents' wishes, but in other aspects of their lives, they may oppose or obey their parents' wishes.

The women are able to make their own work decisions without conflict although they do not ask parents' or husbands' permission because they know that their parents or husbands will allow them to work. They know from indicators, such as that the knowledge that high education is a way to obtain a better future because education helps them to find a good job. Hence, parents, who provide a good education to daughters expect their daughters to work; fiances and husbands understand that women should use their education for working and women who like their jobs should not stop working because of marriage and childrearing. There are women who tell their parents or husbands they want to work because they need help from parents or husbands to provide information on job opportunities or helping them with capital. They may also need suggestions from husbands or parents because they may not be sure about their decisions such as whether to work or stop working.

This study shows the need for careful analysis of the statement 'husbands or parents do not allow us to work' since this statement has complex meanings. It is true that a teacher is depressed because her husband does not allow her to work because he wants her to be the primary care-giver for their children instead of servants.

However, there are also women who interpret the statement differently. A single woman understands that she should stay at home to look after her younger brother because her mother has to work in a factory, otherwise her family may have difficulty in fulfilling the basic needs. A married woman in poor health is thankful to her husband because he does not allow her to work. Single women who are working in jobs which they do not like will not mind if their husbands ask them to stop working after marriage.

The women in this study tend to have household as well as personal motives for work. Individual motives for work cannot be separated from those of the household. Women have various personal motives for working as discussed in section C. Women who use their earnings mainly for personal needs are found not only among the single but also among the married. There are even three married women who use their earnings mainly for savings since their other personal needs are met by their husbands. Women who use their earnings mainly for personal needs may indirectly reduce household economic needs since personal needs are part of household needs. Autonomous motives for work may influence the social status of the family because women who have these motives are seen as modern women. Husbands of these women are also seen as modern husbands who provide personal freedom to their wives. These findings confirm the fact that interrelationships between household members influence the extent to which households gain from individual motives for work which in turn influence the economic and non economic survival of households.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated the complexity of women's work, which is interrelated with individual, familial and macro-social and economic conditions. The selection of urban Kalimantan as the research site has enriched understanding about constraints faced by women in development; poverty, spare time, increasing aspirations and education encourage women to work, while economic development is not able to provide sufficient job opportunities. Ironically, this has come about where the government and the experts endlessly encourage women to advance their role in development by participating in economic activity. Hence, this study not only offers an alternative view of women's work and household strategy but also alternative indicators of the effect of economic development on women.

A. Advancing women's role in development ?

Using women's work as one of the indicators for women's role in development seems to simplify the complex factors behind the notion of work. While there are women who enjoy their jobs and obtain personal as well as household benefit from their jobs, there are also women who work because they do not have any choice. For instance, Nah who was working as a cleaner in a plywood factory did not want to work but had to work because her husband's income was not sufficient to support the family (Section C3, Chapter 6). Thus, the role of women in development is not simply measured by whether or not women have jobs, but more important also is the kind of jobs they do and what they gain from these jobs. Poverty forces women to take whatever jobs are available for basic household survival but these jobs are not always sufficient to reduce the economic burdens of the household.

The persistence of economically disadvantaged women who engage in economic activity can be indicated by the increase in the proportion of women working in the

formal sector (employers and employees) from at most 46 per cent in 1980 to at most 60 per cent in 1990 (Table 3.9). The formal sector creates not only jobs requiring high levels of education, so that women with at least senior high school education are more likely to work in the formal than in the informal sector, but also jobs requiring medium and low levels of education or even no education at all. For instance, in the factory, the production section mainly employs labour with primary or junior high school education and the cleaning section may require no education at all of its workers. Women who do not have skills and capital to create their own jobs are most likely to be forced to work in low-skilled jobs in the formal sector.

The varying nature of jobs in the formal sector, from professionals to labourers, suggests that expansion of the labour force in the formal sector is not always an indicator of better development. Jobs in the formal sector do not necessarily have higher social status than jobs in the informal sector, since there are jobs in the informal sector which require capital which cannot be afforded by the poor, such as home businesses in haircutting and catering. The variety of jobs in the informal sector and the importance of this sector for female employment can be indicated by there being no significant influence of the employment status of household head on the likelihood of women being self employed (Chapter 5). This suggests that women who are self employed are more likely to have various economic backgrounds than those who are government and private employees and family workers (Chapter 5). Women in the better-off families who cannot work in high-skilled jobs in the formal sector because they lack sufficient qualifications or because of difficulties in finding such jobs may choose to create their own jobs rather than working as labourers in the production or cleaning section of a factory.

The important role of the informal sector contributes to the complexity of the relationship between the orderly stage of economic development and the pattern of female employment. Development does not always reduce job opportunities in home industries and encourage women to work in the formal sector as assumed by Boserup (1970) since the formal sector has not been able to create sufficient jobs desired by women. Besides, the formal sector has not been able to meet the potential demand for goods and services, which lead to the creation of jobs in the informal sector. The domination of the informal sector in trade, including in the

services industry, proves that a high demand for female labour in the services does not occur only at the advanced stages of economic development, as argued by Oppenheimer (1970). The difference is mainly in levels of skills; the labour force in the services in a developing economy mainly requires lower skills than at an advanced stage of economic development.

Advancing women's role in development should not emphasise the contribution of women in development as labour, but rather what they gain from development as humans. The human side of women is reflected in the complexity of factors which influence whether or not a woman works.

B. Women's work

Women's work is influenced by a complex combination of factors, individual, familial and macro-social and economic conditions. Thus, analysing women's work cannot be limited to looking at the current characteristics of the women since these characteristics are not always the same as their characteristics when they start working. For instance, why are unmarried women more likely to work as private employees than married women (Table 5.3) ? Is it simply because the formal sector discriminates against married women owing to their domestic responsibility, as suggested by Boserup ? Or are there other factors ? To answer such questions, it is important to observe the contextual factors such as the history of the labour market, which contributes to the concentration of non- married women in the private sector.

The economy of Kalimantan has not been well developed and job opportunities are limited. Therefore, both women and men in urban Kalimantan who have obtained established jobs with a monthly salary, health and retirement benefits, are unlikely to think of transferring to another job. In the past, high-skilled job opportunities in urban Kalimantan were mainly dependent on the government sector. Currently, the government's ability to create high-skilled jobs is very limited, while the private sector has not been able to replace the role of the government. The formal private sector mainly creates jobs requiring medium and low skills; as a result, many people with high levels of education still desire to be public servants (Section D Chapter 6).

Education is a very important factor in influencing whether or not a woman works, but work also is dependent on job opportunities. Since high-skilled jobs in urban Kalimantan are concentrated in the government sector, it is not surprising that women with at least senior high school education have the greatest likelihood of being government employees (Table 5.2). The younger women who have high levels of education now are mainly dependent on high -skilled jobs in the private sector. These younger women have more difficulties than the older women in obtaining high-skilled jobs because the success of the educational program has increased the proportion of women with at least senior high school education (Table 2.14). Women in the better-off families who are not able to find jobs suited to their education may remain unemployed. This contributed to a high unemployment rate among women with at least senior high school education in 1990 (at least 11 per cent), which was higher than the male unemployment rate (at most 9 per cent) (Table 3.5).

It seems that increasing education is not sufficient to improve the condition of poor families. The availability of private and government schools has encouraged poor parents to provide education to their daughters with the expectation that their daughters will be able to obtain good jobs to improve family economic conditions. Since increasing education is not accompanied by sufficient high-skilled job opportunities, while eventually the poor parents are not able to support their daughters any longer, this encourages women with high education from poor families to take whatever jobs are available. This can be indicated by frequency of women whose head of household is employed in the private sector, tend to work as a private employee (Table 5.3). For example the case of Ita, the daughter of a labourer, who had senior high school education and worked as a servant (Table 7.1).

Married women are less likely to work than unmarried women, but this is least likely to be influenced by childrearing or lack of permission from husbands. Servants or relatives who help with domestic work and substitute care-givers are common in urban Kalimantan even if women are not working. Husbands in general have positive attitudes towards working wives, even for wives who are working in

the formal sector cannot combine their work easily with childrearing. This is indicated by the greater likelihood of married than unmarried women being government employees (Table 5.2). This may also be affected by the nature of urban Kalimantan where travelling from home to the office takes little time (less than 30 minutes) because traffic has not yet become a problem. This gives women time to supervise housework including childrearing. However, not all women are able and want to work. Women who have little education and whose husbands are able to support the family may only be interested in working in high-skilled jobs for which they are not qualified. This is indicated by the case of Ena who had completed primary school and whose husband was a carpenter and who only wanted to work as a civil servant (Section C.8, Chapter 6).

Limited job opportunities in urban Kalimantan may change the job seeking behaviour of women. Normally, women seek jobs soon after finishing their education when they are still single; after having an established job, women then marry and continue working until retired. Difficulties in finding jobs encourage some women to keep seeking jobs even after they are married and have children. Limited job opportunities may also contribute to increasing age at marriage. Women who have already spent years obtaining their high education level now have to spend years finding a job; being unemployed may reduce opportunities for these women to meet potential husbands. Moreover, men who have similar levels of education to these women tend to prefer to marry younger women.

C. Household strategy

This study found that motives for work are varied, not only economic but also non economic which includes happiness, interest, independence, giving is better than receiving, applying knowledge and extending perspectives, experience and working as good activity. Non economic motives are also personal motives, found among women across all socio-economic strata regardless of marital status. This indicates that Wolf's finding in Java (1990) about individual motives among daughters working in the factory are neither unexpected nor surprising.

Non-economic motives for work are common, but these motives tend to be neglected by those who study household strategy, mainly because of a materialistic approach in interpreting women's economic activity in the context of household strategy. Individual motives for work are not regarded as part of household strategy since only the fulfilment of household needs contributes to household strategy. Previous studies of household strategy neglect the fact that no household is without persons and as human beings these persons have personal needs which are part of household needs.

The concept of an idealised family morality proposed by McDonald (1994), which is fundamental for every family, allows this study to analyse the complex needs of households, which are derived from the basic household functions and are important for household survival. This study found that the most important aspect of household survival is the relationship between household members rather than whether or not a woman works *per se*. The patterns of relationships between household members influence to what extent households and individuals benefit from whether or not a woman works.

For instance, an idealised family morality which views men as primary-breadwinners will relieve women in poor families from the burden of jobs (see the story of Raud, section C 7 Chapter 6) and will enable women in the better-off families to work merely for personal needs (see the story of Ana in section C5 Chapter 6). However, the same view also can be used by husbands to prevent their wives from working, as indicated by the case of Nis (section C6 Chapter 6).

The ideal relationship between family members is based on mutual understanding but this does not necessarily happen. Thus, household members who have a greater awareness of household survival have to make more allowance for the needs of other household members. Raud needs her husband's support to save her from a painful job as a prawn peeler. In contrast, Ana needs her husband to allow her to work, although her husband has fulfilled her personal needs and paid servants to help her with domestic work. Nis, who had stopped working for around 12 years, could not understand why her husband asked her to stop working after the birth of

their first child. As a result she was depressed because she did not have any choice except to obey her husband's demands.

Relationships between household members indicate that individual behaviour is not independent from the behaviour of other household members. Individual behaviour contributes to household survival because it is supported by other household members or because it supports other household members.

D. Implications of the study

1. Theoretical implications

The study suggests at least four important factors which should be considered in further studies of whether or not a woman works in the context of household strategy. The first, the complexity of women's work activity requires analysis which considers individual, familial, macro-social and economic conditions. The second, the complex needs of household members and the relationships between household members which are important for household survival have to be considered; studies on women's work activity in the context of household strategy based on the assumptions of the new home economic theory are clearly not sufficient since household survival not only includes economic needs but also non-economic needs and individual needs. The third, the study of household strategy needs to explore interrelationships between household members since the behaviour of an individual household members is not independent from the behaviour of other household members. The fourth, the meaning of the statement 'not allowed to work by husband' among different characteristics of women should be explored further; husbands may not allow their wives to work only if they work outside the home but they may not mind their wives working at home.

2. Practical implications

Economic development should not concentrate only on big cities such as Jakarta. Job opportunities in regions such as Kalimantan should be developed. Government investment in infrastructure is needed to attract private investors but it is recognised

that this is difficult in the current economic situation. The richness of natural resources should provide the maximum benefit to the local people by creating regulations which require the private sector to invest not only in the primary industry but also related industries and advanced industries which are able to absorb labour with high education. The importance of the informal sector requires policies for poor people who are not able to create or develop their work because of limited skills and capital. Increasing the proportion of women with children working in the formal sector may increase demand for professional daycare. Thus the availability of professional day care may reduce the burden of working mothers. Last but not least, the government should not intervene into choices made by women regarding their employment opportunities to avoid different appreciation for different roles of women. The government should limit itself to providing facilities which can help women to play whatever roles they desire.

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